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SIX LECTURES
ON THE
CONDITION, RESOURCES, AND PROSPECTS
OF
BRITISH INDIA,
AND THE
DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN TO DO
JUSTICE TO THAT VAST EMPIRE.
BY GEORGE THOMPSON.

WITH A
PREFATORY ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD CLIFFORD.

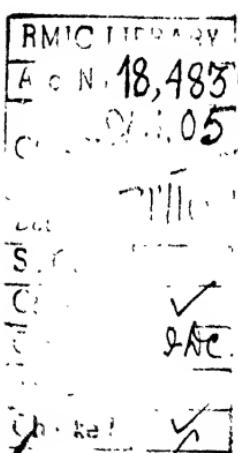
AND AN
ESSAY ON THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA,
BY MAJOR GENERAL BRIGGS, F.R.S.



LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

MDCCLXII.

Webb and Chapman, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin.



I N T R O D U C T I O N .

THE following pages contain the report of Six Lectures delivered in Manchester, at the latter part of the year 1839, and reported in the "GUARDIAN" and "TIMES," local newspapers. But few alterations have been made, and scarcely any additions. They owe their re-appearance in their present form, to the favourable opinion of the benevolent and enlightened Nobleman who has prefixed to them a short address. My motive in delivering them, was a desire to awaken attention to the condition and claims of a strangely neglected empire, possessing boundless resources, and by compulsion rendered wholly dependent on the Government and People of this nation. I am well aware of their many deficiencies; but, on examination, with the aid of much additional information, drawn from the best and highest sources, I see no opinions or statements which require either to be abandoned or modified.

If at the time these lectures were given, there were strong reasons for calling public attention to India, there are, at the present time, additional and overwhelming arguments for a renewed appeal. On both sides of India, on the east and on the west, we are at war with hundreds of millions of the human race. These wars have placed our Indian possessions in jeopardy; they have utterly exhausted our Indian finances; they have deprived the population of India of the circulating medium of the country; they have occasioned the entire stoppage of every work for the internal improvement of India: the cultivator is unable to find money to pay his land-tax; the merchant is unable to find beasts of burden to transport his merchandize; the native soldiers are beginning to cherish feelings of alarm and distrust, and are daily deserting; while, at

home, we have the prospect of war with the United States, a country on which, through the neglect of India, we are compelled to rely for the supply of the raw material of the most important branch of our manufactures.

The fruits of our three years unprovoked operations against the friendly inhabitants of China and Afghanistan, are these:—the expenditure of more than twenty millions of money; the destruction of an appalling amount of human life; the conversion of entire races of unoffending well-disposed men into bitter and implacable enemies; and a succession of disasters, disgraces, and defeats. These hostile operations still continue with increased vigour; and the consequence is, that India, instead of being a source of unfailing and honourable riches to the people of this country, is a heavy burden, and a cause of additional taxation, and that the British government in the East, instead of being a blessing, is a scourge and a curse.

A better state of things cannot be anticipated, until the British people are made familiar with the circumstances, condition, and true value of India; until they regard India as an integral portion of the British dominions, and the people of India as subjects of her Majesty, with an irresistible claim upon the consideration, sympathy, and exertions of those who have the power of influencing the acts of the rulers of this empire. If the republication of these lectures in any degree contributes to hasten this desired period, I shall feel richly rewarded; not only for the labour connected with them, but for all other efforts which I have considered it my duty to make in the cause of India.

The accompanying map is coloured, to illustrate the very valuable paper of my friend General Briggs, and shows the extent of the cotton-growing soil of India. I deem myself fortunate in being able to send forth these lectures, in company with so able an elucidation of a topic of peculiar importance to the commerce and prosperity both of Great Britain and India.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

REFORM CLUB, LONDON.

May 21st, 1842.



TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Manchester, Dec. 5, 1841.

FELLOW CHRISTIANS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

By this reprint, in the form of a pamphlet, of Mr. Thompson's Lectures on India, I afford you an opportunity of placing on the shelves of your libraries, sentiments as important in themselves under your present difficulties, as they are lucidly and eloquently expressed. I am also enabling a greater number of you than could be present in October, 1839, at the Friends' Meeting House in this town, or than could have an opportunity of preserving the Manchester Times and Guardian newspaper (whose editors first presented to you the printed report of Mr. Thompson's lectures) to become acquainted with the **TRUTHS**, to the diffusion of which Mr. Thompson has dedicated his time, his talents, and his very existence. May God reward him; and grant in His mercy to you, that his labours may not be thrown away upon you. As for myself, I have only to assure you, that from all I know of you, there is no one sentence in all the valuable pages which I now present to you, more important to you, and especially to the manufacturing classes among you, at this crisis of your very existence, than the following one:—"A further confession of faith there is not a "man, a woman, in this company of Christians to-night, would "extort from my lips."* Until combined distress and reflection

* Vide page 3 of Lectures.

have made you open your eyes to the *real* cause of the greater part of your enormous national debt, and its necessary consequence —corn laws, it will always be an almost hopeless task, though nevertheless a duty, for those who know the truth, to tell it you. You *may* be led by artful men, who will not tell you the truth, into measures which *must* aggravate your sufferings; you cannot be delivered from your distress. Even to the last gasp of your existence as an independent nation, your fate will be that of Mezentius, as described by Virgil:—

———— oculis errantibus alto
Quæsivit lucem caelo, ingemultque repertâ.

Such is the conviction of your sincere friend,

CLIFFORD.

C O N T E N T S .

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LECTURES ON BRITISH INDIA.

FIRST LECTURE.

Introductory Remarks—Objects of these Lectures—Extent of British Power in India—Government of India—The East India Company—Revenue of India—The Land Tax—The Salt Monopoly—The Opium Monopoly—Other Sources of Revenue—Natural Productions of India—The People of India—Testimony of the Right Hon. Holt M'Kenzie, Captain Westmacott, Mr. Shore, Bishop Heber, Mr. Ricards, Major General Briggs, Sir Thomas Monro, Sir John Malcolm, and Warren Hastings—Insignificant Extent of the East India Company's Exports to India—Vast Increase of Exports since the opening of the Trade, 1813—Our Exports to India small in comparison with those of other Countries—Means of Improving the Condition of British India.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My object in appearing before you to-night is to deliver the first of a series of lectures on the subject of British India. These, so far as I am able to see through the subject which I have undertaken to discuss, will embrace the present state of our possessions in the East, the actual condition of our fellow subjects in that quarter of the globe, (amounting to one hundred millions,) and the claims of this immense multitude of human beings upon our compassion and justice. Also a brief sketch of the history and present character of the British government in India; the actual state of commerce with the East, contrasted with the capacity of the soil, the variety of its productions, and the wants of its population. Also the principles which have guided our conduct towards India, compared with those on which we have carried on our intercourse with other parts of the world; the natural ability of India to furnish to this district a regular and sufficient supply of that raw material, which lies at the very foundation of the ingenuity, the industry, and the wealth for which it is so highly distinguished; (I refer, as you will readily understand, to cotton)—the hindrances which at present stand in the way of an extensive cultivation of a superior quality of cotton in India, and the means by which those hindrances may be removed; the practicability and unexceptionable character of those means; the connection between the improvement of the physical, moral, and political condition of the natives of India, and the augmentation, to an indefinite extent, of our greatness and prosperity as a trading and manufacturing nation—the influence of a better system upon the political aspect and future destiny of India—the certain

effect of a just course towards India, upon the systems of monopoly, oppression, and slavery, which have obtained in other parts of the world ; and the solemn duty which rests upon this nation, and the individuals who compose it, to ascertain and fulfil the obligations which they owe to one hundred millions of the human race, and to those regions of the globe, whose happiness or misery is interwoven with the fate of our conquered fellow-subjects in the East. Most truly has this question been termed, in one of your own journals, "a Mighty Theme." I see, I feel it to be so: Again and again have I paused upon the threshold of my arduous task ; and most gladly would I now recede, if I could resign my work into the hands of some one of the multitude of my more gifted and influential countrymen ; if one would step forward and espouse it, under the guidance and dominion of those views and feelings which I deem necessary to actuate and sustain the mind, and lead the individual who undertakes such a task as that upon which I am entering, to a happy and successful issue.

Before I proceed further, let me, with all possible frankness, avow the character in which I stand before you to-night. I am not ignorant that the subject we are now to consider, has varied and complicated features, and is capable of calling forth the expression of widely differing opinions on matters connected with the social, religious, and political condition of mankind. I deem it therefore expedient, as I deem it honourable, to remove all uncertainty respecting the objects I have in view, the motives by which I am actuated, and the principles which I hold on those great questions, which are regarded as of vital importance in the places they respectively occupy in the minds of this community. I, therefore, without equivocation, without reservation, declare that I am the agent, the representative, the mouthpiece, the organ, of no party in politics, or in religion, or in trade ; that my object is to better the condition of the now wretched and helpless subjects of the British government in Hindostan ; and to achieve, through their elevation, the good of other races, which, in my opinion, are to be reached in their debasement and misery, principally, if not exclusively, by the operation of principles, whose mighty working must be commenced in that immense region, the destinies of which Divine Providence, in the accomplishment of his inscrutable designs, permits us, at present, to control. I believe, however, that the re-action of our benevolence would be most blessed, and that every Hindoo and Mussulman we rescue from famine, and raise from penury, will be a labourer in an exhaustless mine of wealth, that will unceasingly pour its riches into our laps, and raise us, in our turn, from circumstances of abject dependence, without an alternative, to circumstances of freedom, with the opportunity of choosing from among the products of the earth, and of encouraging that industry which is the most honourable and the most unconstrained, and the fruits of which will always be found the cheapest and the best. While, therefore, my heart's desire and prayer is, that the time may speedily come, when every fibre of cotton wool woven or worn by the people of this country may be the produce of free labour, I ask for no restrictions, no regulations, no prohibitory duties, barring out from our ports the produce of any part of the globe of any kind, whether it be cotton to cover the naked, or corn to feed the hungry. Thanks to the irreversible laws which govern the social state, no such remedies are needed. I ask only for liberty, justice, and impartiality, convinced that if these be conceded

and acted upon, every system based upon monopoly, and worked out by slavery, will totter to its everlasting fall.

Again, with reference to our dominion in the East; I desire the continuance of our sway; believing that we have it in our power, and hoping that we shall soon esteem it our privilege to bestow upon our Asiatic empire, so long and so criminally neglected, incalculable blessings of the richest kind. But I wish to see our dominion secured and perpetuated by the administration of a paternal government; fostering intellect, encouraging agriculture, improving the face of the country, respecting the rights of the natives, regarding virtue and eligibility, and not complexion, as qualifications for office—a government ruling through the kindlier affections, not the fears of the natives; upheld by the spontaneous allegiance of millions of hearts, and not by the dazzled array of two hundred thousand bayonets.

Again, I desire most sincerely, as who does not, the propagation of that religion of peace and prosperity, which constitutes at once the brightest glory and the surest defence of our native land; but I would not have it spread by coercion; I would not have it retarded in its progress by the inconsistencies of its professors; I would not have it sullied and contradicted by acts of injustice and cruelty, and by systems of wholesale oppression and wrong. Above all, I would not that a disgraceful connection should continue, between a government nominally Christian, and the idolatrous pageantries and pilgrimages of the people we govern. I would not see the plume of a British soldier waving amid the sanguinary festivities of Juggernaut, nor a solitary rupee, the dues of an idolatrous worship, put into the treasury of a Christian state. I would have our government continue as it might, by the consent of the people; I would have our government founded, as it ought to be, on righteousness and truth; I would have our faith—our holy, our religious faith—diffused and extended by holy men and holy lives, and recommended by the meekness and the mercy, the justice and the benevolence of those who profess it. The greatest obstacle to the march of Christianity upon the coral strand of India, is the palpable contradiction given to the truths of Christianity in the lives of those who have been baptised in its name. Let these obstacles be removed, and then we may, without reproach, and without despondency, take up the language of poesy and prayer, and say—

O hasten your tardy coming, days of gold,
Long by prophetic minstrelsy foretold!
Where your bright purple streaks the orient skies,
• Rise Science, Freedom, Peace, Religion rise!
Till from Tanjore to farthest Samarcand,
In one wide lustre bask the glowing land,
And Bramah from his guilty greatness hurl'd,
(With Mecca's Lord,) Messiah rule the world!

I think I need say nothing further in reference to the great views I cherish upon this question, whether of political economy, or civil government, or religion, however dear or near to the hearts of those who are around me. A farther confession of faith there is not a man, a woman, in this company of Christians to-night would extort from my lips.

I stand before you the representative of the British India Society—a society which has its origin in a benevolent regard for the natives of India; a society embracing men of all parties, and founded upon a

basis which, it is earnestly hoped, will permanently exclude the adoption of party, of sectarian, or of mercenary views. The individuals who form this association believe that the present indifference to the affairs of India, is owing to the want of accurate and comprehensive information, and they have therefore determined to employ all the means in their power to diffuse knowledge upon a subject thus involved in ignorance. They have already a large body of facts which, according to opportunity, they will digest and prepare for publication, and spread before the community. Their desire and their aim are, to fix the eyes of the entire nation upon the extent, the population, the resources, the condition, and the claims of British India; and to demonstrate that, however varied the interests, and pursuits, and benevolent plans of men may be, there is an illimitable field presented for the prosecution of the one, and the accomplishment of the other. They, therefore, make their appeal with confidence to every class of their fellow-Christians. I, for example, lecture to-night on behalf of British India. I declare the design, the only object of that society to be, to promote the welfare of the natives of India. I avow that we are neither a commercial society, a religious society—that is, having no exclusively religious object—still less a political society; but a society for diffusing information, and organizing and directing public feeling and intellect, with a view to the advancement of the true welfare, in all respects, of the natives of India. But knowing that a variety of means must be employed, and that we can only work out our object through the awakened zeal and energy of the entire British people, and knowing that the mass is made up of different classes, I proceed to urge such motives as I deem most likely to operate upon those classes respectively, and ultimately to animate them to a combined and general action. Some of those motives are drawn from a consideration of reciprocal interest; others from considerations of responsibility and duty: others from the connection between this cause and those already espoused and in course of prosecution.

Now, should I conclude this lecture by proposing a petition to Parliament, to remove some great hindrance to the happiness and welfare of the people of India, having previously shown that the prosperity of the people of India is intimately and inseparably connected with the prosperity of the people of this country. I might consistently call upon all to sign it. Some might do so on anti-slavery grounds, for I shall develope the anti-slavery aspect of this question; some on commercial grounds, for I shall dwell upon these; some from feelings of compassion and sympathy; and some that they might remove, if possible, the reproach cast upon Christianity, by the oppressions of Christians ruling over an idolatrous people. Thus, my object would be so far gained; and gained, I think, without the slightest compromise of those great principles, which bind us, as a society, to use none but peaceful and constitutional means, and to be ourselves far above the influence of all political, all sectarian, and all mercenary views.

I have deemed it necessary to say so much respecting the plans and the views of the society which I this night have the privilege to represent. I now proceed to draw your attention to the field of our philanthropic enterprise. India, British India! so often the theme of poetic visions and romantic dreams. I come not, however, to speak the language of a vapouring sentimentalism; I come not to talk

of balmy skies, voluptuous gales, of golden dews, of plains of Paradise, of amaranthine bowers, and floods of living light ; I come to speak the language of truth and soberness, to set forth the wretchedness and the wants, and the solemn and sacred claims of a population embracing nearly one-sixth part of the whole human race. In doing this, I shall place before you no picture sketched by my own fancy, but the scenes described with stern truth, by men who have had the largest possible opportunities of knowing India. My part is not that of a witness, to bear testimony to that which I have seen, but rather the part of the historian, to bring out and arrange the evidence that is placed before me—not, however, to make out a case—not to disparage a party for the sake of accomplishing an end, but to elicit truth and to obtain justice.

Let me remind those who hear me, that the sceptre of this little island is the sceptre of the peninsula of India; that our maiden monarch rules over a country stretching from the bay of Bengal to the great sandy desert; from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains; and from the Gulph of Cutch to the borders of China. Three quarters of a century ago, a few forts, erected on the coast for the protection of our commerce, were all we could boast of in India; now, we are the masters of five hundred thousand square miles of territory, exert a direct dominion over one hundred millions of the human race, and a paramount influence over one hundred and fifty millions. The British Governor-General at Calcutta now sways the sceptre of the Great Mogul. Surely, sirs, it would be interesting, it would be proper, if we had time, to trace the march of British conquest in the east, and follow our merchants from their lowly pursuits on the coast of Coromandel to the summit of their princely power, dictating terms to the hereditary occupants of oriental thrones. It is, however, with the present state of India that we have to do.

The government of India, as you are aware, is in the hands of a chartered company, well known by the name of the East India Company. Until 1834, the directors and proprietors of the East India Company were not only sovereigns, ruling India, but merchants trading to India—merchant monarchs, enjoying certain exclusive privileges and monopolies. Five years ago, however, through your exertions among those of others, they were deprived of their trade, but were left the joint-stock kings and queens of India. I say queens, because ladies are stockholders as well as gentlemen, are eligible to sit in the court of proprietors as well as gentlemen; and many ladies are, in trust, the rulers of British India. It is extremely proper, therefore, that I should address the ladies upon this occasion; there may be ladies here, for aught I know, with proxies in their pockets, who, within the last few days, may have been voting Colonel this, and Captain that, and Major the other, for the court of directors; and I would that every individual of every political party, and every religious profession, every ecclesiastic and every layman, did but feel the responsibility imposed upon him to give his proxy, to employ his vote, to raise his voice, to legislate in the British parliament, with a single eye to the exaltation of the name of Him who is King of kings, and the happiness of a hundred millions of rational and immortal beings. I say those ladies and gentlemen were once merchant princes and merchant princesses; but they are now only rulers and kings and queens. The government of India is theirs; the revenue of India is

theirs; but the trade to India is opened to the enterprise of our countrymen at large. A single sentence is necessary, and may also be sufficient to connect the past history of the East India Company with their present character and functions. Hereafter, this subject will excite, I trust, a sincere and hearty interest in the minds of the people of this town—and I have no reason to despond, when I look upon this assembly, and recollect that in one part of the town a learned doctor is lecturing on the corn laws; that in another a scientific gentleman is making a solidification of carbonic acid gas; that in a third place there is a learned Jew preaching to the Gentiles; and that there are your mechanics' bazaar and your concerts—I say I am perfectly content with my share of the respectability and intellect and beauty of this town, and I augur, that if Providence permits me to remain here, and again and again to summon the attention of the Christian, commercial, and philanthropic public to another and another discussion of the claims of this mighty empire upon your compassion, your sympathy, and your sense of justice, you will again and again come forth, until at last Manchester as one man shall cry “Justice to India!” and we shall hear a voice coming from every busy mill, from every piled up waggon, from every pale-faced factory child, “If you would gain liberty to the slave, if you would raise your home-born population, do justice to British India.”

I said a word might be necessary respecting the history of the East India Company. This, then, is the concisest view of its history that I can take. In 1599, two hundred and forty years ago, an association was formed in London for prosecuting the trade to India, and in 1600 a company was incorporated under the name of the governor and company of merchants trading to the East Indies. In 1698, a rival company was formed, which was united to the original one in 1702. Till the year 1750, the company possessed no territorial footing in India, save a small part of the country at Madras. They merely occupied factories at the different ports to which they traded. In 1756, the company acquired considerable territory in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and so continued to augment their acquisitions till they have reached the dimensions I have stated, embracing an empire whose sea coast line is three thousand six hundred and twenty-two English miles, with a territorial breadth of one thousand two hundred and sixty miles. In the year 1784, after the celebrated debate on Mr. Fox's bill, and after the delivery of those master-pieces of eloquence which have immortalised the name of Edmund Burke, as they have consigned to infamy the names of those so conspicuous for crime; although the bill of Mr. Fox was lost, Mr. Pitt considered that a Board of Control should be established to overlook, and supersede, if necessary, the East India Company in the government of India; and accordingly a board of control was established, the president of which is a cabinet minister, and is assisted by paid commissioners. Now, all matters affecting great questions in India are submitted to the hands of a secret committee, the members of which, chosen from the directors of the East India Company, are sworn to keep within their own bosoms the knowledge of the transactions in which they are engaged. Three persons constitute the secret committee, and all despatches upon important subjects emanate from that committee; and they are sworn not to divulge, even to the persons who sit next them at the board-table, the nature of the communications sent out to India. In the government of India

there are so many things that require to be concealed, that this is, in all probability, the busiest, as well as most important, committee in the whole of that establishment. However, the fact that three men sitting in secret council in Leadenhall-street, who have never been in India, the one perhaps a banker, the other a soap boiler, and the third a retired China captain,—that these three men can, by the stroke of a pen, affect for good or evil the destinies of countless millions, furnishes matter for grave consideration; and we ought to ask ourselves, for India is ours, as I can show you by act of parliament (and these men do but govern in trust,) we ought, I repeat it, to put it to our consciences, “Are we at liberty to consent that three men, invested with unlimited discretion, should be allowed to rule the destinies, at least for this world, and perhaps for the next, of more than a hundred millions of human beings?” In 1813, the trade, which to that time had been exclusively monopolised by the company, was opened on certain conditions to the public, the company continuing to enjoy the exclusive monopoly of the trade to China. That exclusive trade to China was, however, abolished in 1834; and in 1837 there was a partial equalization of the duties on East and West India produce; and in this house, and amidst audiences certainly as large as this, I have taken occasion to expose and to denounce the injustice done to our Eastern dominions by the bounties, and drawbacks, and protecting duties, that were established in favour of our West India colonies. When I come to speak of trade, I shall show the effects which have followed from the adoption of these progressive liberal measures.

A word now with regard to the present revenue of India. The revenue raised by the East India Company is less than twenty millions of pounds sterling. About eleven millions of this is raised by a direct tax upon the land; about two millions five hundred thousand pounds by the salt monopoly—that is to say, the cultivation, the manufacture, and the sale of salt, is an exclusive monopoly in the hands of the East India Company. The people of India are a rice-fed population, and salt is an essential ingredient to their food. Without salt they become diseased; it is necessary to correct the influence of an almost exclusively vegetable diet.

The comfort and welfare of the people of India require the total abolition of the salt monopoly. I have no time at present to enter into this mystery of iniquity. A more unnatural, unjust, or oppressive system was, perhaps, never invented to increase the revenue of any government. Between two and three millions of pounds sterling are annually raised by the monopoly of an article, which the enlightened Rajah, Rammohun Roy, denominated “*an absolute necessary of life*.”

It is well known that the food of the people of India consists chiefly of boiled rice,—an insipid dish, to season which, salt, or something impregnated with salt, is required. So highly is this seasoning valued, that the poorest individual will purchase it at the sacrifice of every other article. For this want, nature has provided in a manner the most simple and bountiful. In every part of India, washed by the ocean, salt is obtained by the evaporation of sea-water upon the sand or rocks, by the heat of the sun. By this process, salt in a pure and perfect state of crystallization is procured. It is also made by boiling sea-water. The first process is called *cultivation*, the second *manufacture*. The cultivation, manufacture, and sale of salt, in British India, is a strict monopoly. The native of British India can be severely punished

for daring to place upon his tongue, or remove into his hut, a single grain of the sun-evaporated salt, left by nature at his own door. In the *new* penal code for India, I find that the cultivation, collection, or manufacture of salt may be punished by three months imprisonment, or a fine of five hundred rupees, or both. And that the same penalty may be inflicted upon the person who makes a salt-pan for the purpose of collecting salt. Officers of government are employed to destroy the salt naturally formed. The government also claims the right of determining what shall be the amount of salt consumed by the population during the year. Many are the evils created by this system. *Smuggling* is one. The practice of *adulterating* the salt, by mixing it with *one-third*, or even *one-half* of earth, is another. The *raising of the price* of the article, to such an extent as to oblige the Indian peasant, in order to supply his family, to sacrifice one-seventh part of his entire wages, is another. The *encouragement of fraudulent speculators* is another. The employment of an expensive, vexatious, and *corrupt preventive service* is another. These, with every description of *evasion, lying, and robbery*, are among the effects produced by the salt monopoly in India.

More than a million a year of revenue is raised by the cultivation and sale of opium. This branch of our subject is peculiarly interesting at the present moment, whether presented to the mind of the politician, the moralist, the political economist, the merchant, or the philanthropist. It is intimately connected with the history of the recent acts of the East India Company: it sheds much light upon the condition of the people of India: it exhibits the character and constitution of the Indian government, and the spirit and manner in which that government is administered: it is part and parcel of the existing revenue system of India: it is a branch of that great system of exclusive dealing, or monopolies, which is undergoing at this moment the rigid scrutiny of the most enquiring minds, and is about to be brought to the test of reason, truth, and experience. It connects itself with the interests of British trade and commerce with the East, and stands nearly allied to the cause of health, and purity, and morals, now happily attracting notice in our own and our sister island, and which is leading to philosophical and statistical enquiries, intimately associated with the character and welfare of the inhabitants of this country. It is a question embracing our relationship to a distant and vast empire, and the delegated powers of a British functionary appointed to represent our nation amongst a jealous, proud, and sensitive people. These are all interesting bearings of the question—involving our commercial policy, the continuance of important branches of trade, the security of property, and even the lives of multitudes of men. But it is, perhaps, in its *moral* aspects that this question assumes its most commanding features; involving our reputation as a Christian nation; requiring us to justify a course of conduct, through a long series of years, the consistency and lawfulness of which are now called in question; conduct which, by not a few, is branded as highly criminal, and utterly unworthy of us, as claiming to be honourable merchants and a just and moral people.

The opium trade, as carried on by the East India Company, is a strict monopoly: the best lands in certain districts are chosen for the cultivation of the poppy: useful and nutritious articles are “driven out” to make way for this poisonous plant: the cultivation of the

poppy is often compulsory on the part of the ryot : the trade has created a numerous class of persons who live by insolence, extortion, and corruption, making the helpless ryot the victim of their cupidity and fraud : the opium grown in British India is smuggled into China, in defiance of the laws and regulations of the Chinese Government : the opium so introduced is the instrument of demoralization and death to a large portion of the inhabitants of the Chinese empire : the prosecution of the trade in this pernicious drug has brought upon us the mingled hatred, suspicion, and contempt of the government and people of China ; and, finally, the trade operates to exclude us from unrestricted commercial intercourse with an immense population.

Here are three of the principal sources of revenue, all oppressive and iniquitous. Custom-house duties, the post-office, tribute, &c. produce say five millions more, making together twenty millions pounds sterling. Now for the other side of the account. Of the twenty millions thus raised, nine millions, or nearly, are demanded by the exigencies of the army. The collection of the revenue costs more than four millions ; and then the civil and political establishments, and those for the administration of justice, may take about three millions more, and then nearly two millions more are required to pay interest upon money that has been borrowed ; and then a million more is necessary for pensions, assignments, and allowances in India ; then two millions must come to this country to divide dividends, and pay numerous salaried servants, besides other expenses on this side of the water. Thus the twenty millions are got rid of.

I proceed now to say a word respecting the natural features of India. Of these it is impossible to speak except in terms of the highest admiration. India presents every variety of scenery : majestic rivers, innumerable streams, salt lakes in abundance, mineral springs, every kind of landscape, embracing the soft, the mild, the imposing, and the grand ; majestic forests, impenetrable jungles, and fertile valleys ; extended plains, and ranges of the steepest mountains ; and, overlooking all, the sublime and snow-crowned Himalayas, raising their peaks upwards of twenty-five thousand feet above the sea, and exhibiting on their sides, villages, fields, flocks, and herds, elevated to the height of three miles above the waves which dash upon the shores. Besides these, there are innumerable isthmuses, islands, and deltas, all fitted for peculiarly valuable purposes. Then, of the riches of this country, what shall we say ? They are as exhaustless as they are valuable, and as varied as they are vast. Iron, copper, lead, antimony, zinc, sulphur, silver, gold : and besides these, there are immense fields of coal in various parts of the country. Then, among the vegetable productions, there are cotton, sugar, indigo, rice, tea, tobacco, opium, (if you like opium,) india-rubber, coffee, cinnamon, pepper, cassia, galls, ginger, senna, grains of all kinds, gums of all kinds, raw silk, oils of various descriptions, tanning materials, woods of almost every kind ; five hundred specimens of which were some time ago submitted by the East Company to the London Society of Arts, and I have here classifications of the species. Of the fruits and flowers of India, I have not time to speak, neither of its zoology. Information respecting these matters can be obtained without difficulty. Great numbers who hear me are, no doubt, familiar with the romantic features and the wild scenery of India, who have never paused to contrast the richness and fertility, and boundless resources of the country, with the actual

condition of the people inhabiting this country. But on other occasions I shall have time more fully to particularise some of the articles I have referred to, and shew their connexion with the commerce and manufactures of this country. But before I quit this part of the subject, before I proceed to speak of the dwellers in this gorgeous land, or of the rulers of this land, or of the trading intercourse which we carry on, or might carry on with this land, I ask you to look once more at India. Look at India with a soil of infinite variety, and almost unequalled productiveness, yielding three crops, and sometimes four crops in the course of the year; mighty rivers and innumerable streams intersecting the country in all directions; a land of gold and specie, and guns and grains; where the hunter and the hawk, the fowler and the fisher, the farmer and the shepherd may all find ample employment; a land abounding with almost every living being, from the lizard basking in the sun, to the solemn and stupendous elephant reposing in the shade; the garden, the granary, the Golconda of the world. I want you to bear these things in mind, for I shall have, hereafter to show you that this, the most splendid and fertile land on which the sun shines in his circuit, is a land where the deepest poverty reigns, and where, during eight months, and that within the last two years, five hundred thousand human beings died of hunger. I want you to bear these things in mind. I have not been speaking in the language of poetry; I have but faintly, feebly sketched the greatness, the glory, of this rich, yet wretched country.

Having glanced at this country, I ask your attention for a few moments to the character of its inhabitants; and this I deem the more important to dwell upon on this occasion, as a controversy has been going on in the public papers between two distinguished persons, the one a right rev. prelate,* and the other a well known philanthropist,† who has deservedly obtained the esteem and affection of the people of British India. You will readily understand the necessity, when speaking of a country as large as all Europe, Russia only excepted,—you will readily understand the necessity of discriminating between the character of those who dwell in different parts.

A great diversity exists in respect of character, colour, language, manners and religion. Some are bold and warlike; others are timid and peaceful. Some are of a bright olive complexion, with Roman noses, dark eyes and hair, and others of an Ethiopian appearance. Some are graceful and polished in their language; others use a barbarous jargon. Some are believers in one pure, undivided intelligence; while others are sunk in the grossest idolatry. Many, I would be inclined to say the majority, are hospitable, generous, and confiding; while others, it must be admitted, are treacherous, cruel, and distrustful. Very opposite accounts have been given of the moral character of the natives of India, and I have no doubt with equal sincerity. It has recently been asserted by the distinguished prelate before alluded to, that the people of India, taken as a whole, are destitute of all sense of honour, probity, and truth. Now, as I think that I am not mistaken when I say that, it is desirable, when pleading for any individual or individuals, to place his or their character in as inviting, at all events in as just a light as truth will allow, I shall venture to adduce a few

* The Bishop of London.

† Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.

testimonies in favour of the inhabitants of India, particularly the Hindoos, who constitute, as you know, the great bulk of the population, and against whom the gravest charges have from time to time been brought.

Amongst the almost endless tribes and castes in India, there are to be found some of the lowest and most debased of the human family. Dr. Spry, who has recently written two volumes entitled *Modern India*, has informed us that there are living within one hundred and fifty miles of Calcutta a race of individuals—their amount is not correctly ascertained—who are cannibals, in appearance the most repulsive, in their manners wild and ferocious, speaking a dialect peculiar to themselves, and building their villages in the boughs of forest trees. It is believed, also, that there is another race of cannibals called Goands, inhabiting the hill forests of Nagpore. You have all, I dare say, heard of the Thugs, a confederacy of murderers, held together by mystic rights, following their horrid trade as a religious duty. We have accounts of another and similar gang traversing another portion of the country, whose history and operations are at this moment the subject of a rigid investigation on the part of the government of India. You have also heard of the idolatrous worship of the country, so that I need not harrow up your feelings with a relation of the scenes of Juggernaut, the burning of widows, and the neglect and desertion of children by their parents. We have in this day's paper an account of the death of Runjeet Singh, a celebrated chief in India, and the destruction upon the funeral pyre of four princesses, his wives, and seven slaves. I disguise none of these facts. No; on a proper occasion I would be first to bring them forward, and make them the ground work of an urgent appeal to the compassion and Christian zeal of this community. On this occasion it is not my purpose to fix your attention upon the all but extinct tribes of aborigines, or upon the dreadful deeds of men who follow the trade of Thuggee or Dacoity, many of whom were before peaceful and happy villagers, but have been torn from their paternal homes by ruthless oppressors, and those oppressors too bearing the sacred name of Christianity; nor upon the phrenzied acts of men and women, led to propitiate incensed imaginary patrons and deities by the most barbarous sacrifices, and the most painful pilgrimages. Neither do I wish you to judge of the population of India by the specimens that are found in the immediate precincts of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, or in the immediate neighbourhood of any of the great civil and military stations; for what say those who are best able to judge of the contact between the natives and the Europeans? And while I make a quotation or two, you will blush for your countrymen, who have succeeded in making men whom they had previously described as absolutely immoral, still worse by their example and treatment. Sirs, I have here the authority of a distinguished individual now in this country, the Right Hon. Holt M'Kenzie, formerly a judge in India. What does he say is the effect of the contact of the natives of India with the Europeans? Speaking of particular parts of India, viz., the ceded districts, he says—

“ The longer we have had these districts, the more apparently do lying and litigation prevail; the more are morals vitiated; the more are rights involved in doubt; the more are the foundations of society shaken.”

What does another gentleman say, Captain Westmacott, who has

traversed the country from one end to the other.² Speaking of the influence of our contact with the natives, he says:—

"It is greatly to be deplored, that in places the longest under our rule, there is the largest amount of depravity and crime. My travels in India have fallen little short of eight thousand miles, and extended to nearly all the cities of importance in Northern, Western, and Central India. I have no hesitation in affirming, that in the Hindoo and Mussulman cities, removed from European intercourse, there is much less depravity than either in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, where Europeans chiefly congregate."

And what says Mr. Shore³? This gentleman filled successively the situations of collector of the revenue, of judge, and then of political commissioner, one of the highest situations a man can fill apart from the governorship? What says the Hon. Mr. Shore?

"Drunkenness, and the use of intoxicating drugs, have increased in an extraordinary degree under the English rule. I have heard many men declare that thirty or forty years ago, even in Calcutta, a drunken native was a perfect rarity. Now they may be seen in numbers, lying drunk about the streets of that city, and, more or less, in every town in the interior, and not unfrequently in the villages also. What is the cause of this? Simply that, in order to raise the revenue, almost every collector is trying to increase the number of his liquor, spirit, and drug shops; to establish them in every hole and corner of his district, and to promote drunkenness to the utmost; often giving, underhand, summary and illegal assistance to the proprietors of shops, to enable them to recover money for liquor sold upon credit. And for this, provided the revenue increase, they receive the approbation of Government: nay, I once knew a collector who retained at the head of his department a man who had, when a public officer, not long before, embezzled a considerable sum of money and absconded; who was notoriously guilty of forgery, although, from the inefficiency of the judge, he escaped conviction; solely because he was a good hand at promoting drunkenness, and thereby producing an increase of the revenue. In contrast, I will mention the conduct of a native chief, related to me by an old gentleman who came to India more than sixty years ago. Shortly after his arrival, on being sent to reside at Kishuagur, he was obliged to ask the Rajah's permission to have a man to procure toddy for his friend: the Rajah consented, on the condition that a senry of his own should accompany the man, to see that he brought just no more than sufficed for his master's use, for fear he should ferment and sell it, and thereby produce drunkenness among the people. The native Rajah did not want a revenue obtained at the expense of the morality of his subjects: the British Indian Government encourage as much drunkenness as possible, provided they reap the profit from it. It has (continues Mr. Shore) been observed as a general truth, that the more connexion the natives have had with the English, the more immoral, and the worse characters in every respect, they become."

I have quoted these cases, not to bring to the bar on this occasion any of my countrymen who are administering the affairs of India, but to account for those scenes of demoralization, for that want of veracity, and sometimes of honesty, which are detected in the natives of India at the presidencies, where the European is sure to land on going to India; and, landing a stranger, and every thing striking him, and striking him strongly; at such a moment he sees that which leads him to believe that the people generally are immoral, and are as destitute all over the land of probity and honour and truth, as they are where they live under the eye, and under the oppressive hand of the white man, where they naturally resort to the only weapons which the weak can use against the powerful—weapons which a wretched being will always resort to when the conqueror's heel is on his neck.

I will now refer to another document or two on this branch of the question, and these also shall be drawn from the highest sources. What say the most distinguished men in reference to the *true char-*

racter of the native Indians? All those whose names I am about to introduce, to you are men who have filled the most exalted stations, and enjoyed the most extensive opportunities of forming correct opinions respecting the manners, acquirements, and dispositions of the Hindoos. What says the late lamented Bishop Heber? You will always respect the authority of this accomplished prelate. He went out to India prejudiced against the people. He had read the accounts given by the historian Mill, and the missionary Ward—the one a most profound philosopher, the other a most useful, pious, and exemplary missionary. He went from place to place over India, carried by his faithful and industrious palankeen bearers. He came in contact with the natives; learned what were their habits, what their municipal institutions, what their agricultural pursuits, what their conduct and character while mingling with each other; and he says:—

“ Of the people, so far as their natural character is concerned, I have been led to form, on the whole, a very favourable opinion. They have, unhappily, many of the vices arising from slavery, from an unsettled state of society, and immoral and erroneous systems of religion. But they are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable aptitude for the abstract sciences, geometry, astronomy, &c., and for the imitative arts, painting and sculpture. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children; of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met with.”

I will state another authority still more satisfactory to me, as his residence in India was longer, and his experience much greater than that of Bishop Heber—the late Mr. Robert Rikards, late of the firm of Rikards, Mackintosh, and Co. of London. He says:—

“ Of the natives of India I may be permitted to add, that they are naturally acute and intelligent; and, whatever prejudice may say to the contrary, that they possess as much industry as any other known people—an industry that never fails to manifest itself, when it is not kept down by the overwhelming pressure of arbitrary power. They have many and distinguished virtues, with fewer vices than the long-continued despotsisms they have groaned under might be admitted to excuse. Their patience is exemplary; and instances are numerous of the warmest attachment to those among their superiors who practise the same virtue towards them. Europeans of forbearing dispositions, and whose sense of right has induced them to be just and patient in their attention to the representations and wants of the natives, have experienced this grateful feeling in an eminent degree.

“ Whatever false theorists, misled by superficial observation, may urge on the natural character of native Indians, I hesitate not, confirmed by long experience, to assert, that they are capable of every virtue and of every acquirement that adorn the human mind; that what they now appear to be is not their nature, but what the caprices and severities of their rulers have made them: and, I lament to add, that the habits, which previous despotsisms had established, the British Government has not yet changed.”

I am also glad to hold in my hand the testimony of an excellent friend, Major-General Briggs, who was recently in this town—and may be again ere these lectures are brought to a conclusion; who has spent the greater portion of his life in India, who has filled the highest situations, and has mingled with the natives in almost every presidency, and in almost every province of India. He kindly permits me to use his testimony—not written for the occasion—but delivered in 1828, eleven years ago, since which time he has been five or six years

in India. His statement forms part of an essay read before the Royal Asiatic Society ; and what says he ?—

“ It has been my lot to pass a great part of my life in familiar intercourse with the natives of the East, and principally among those who have lived for the most part beyond our jurisdiction, and my opinion of them is drawn from such sources. I have found the people, generally speaking, intelligent in a very high degree, though, from education, deficient in the knowledge of European history and sciences. They, however, are ready to admit their ignorance, and are desirous of instruction. They are usually liberal in their opinions, and the Hindoos, especially, are tolerant on the subject of religion ; for, though tenacious of any interference in the exercise of their own, they oppose no worship which does not affect themselves. Among their domestic virtues, I should include affection and tenderness to their relatives, kindness to their servants, integrity in their dealings with each other, and charity to the distressed and the poor. Among the higher classes, I have found refined notions of delicacy of conduct and manners ; and, among statesmen and financiers, I have met with enlarged views of policy, and a knowledge of political economy, which would not disgrace the ministers of any government.”

I cannot withhold another document or two, because they are the testimonies of men still more distinguished. Lieutenant Colonel Sir Thomas Monro, one of the greatest men who ever was employed in the civil or military service of the East India Company, has borne his testimony to the character of the Hindoo, and it is as follows :—

“ With regard to civilization, I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindus. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind, they are much inferior to Europeans. But, if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience and luxury ; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic ; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other ; and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect, and delicacy—are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe : and, if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country will gain by the import cargo.”

This evidence was given before a committee of the House of Commons.

I shall now give you the testimony of Sir John Malcolm, the once distinguished governor of Bombay, who, before the House of Commons in 1813, says :—

“ The character of the different classes of Hindus, which compose a great proportion of the population of the subjects of the British Government in India, varies in different parts of that empire perhaps as much as, if not more than, the nations of Europe do from each other. Under the Bengal establishment, there are two descriptions of Hindus, of a very distinct race : below Patna the race of Hindus, called Bengalese, I consider to be weak in body and timid in mind, and to be in general marked by the accompaniments of timidity, which are fraud and servility. I think, as far as my observation went, this class appeared to diminish both in their bodily strength and mental qualities, as they approached the coast ; and those below Calcutta are, I think, in character and appearance, among the lowest of all our Hindu subjects. But, from the moment you enter the district of Bahar, or rather the district of Benares, throughout all the territories in that quarter, subject to the Company and their dependent ally, the Nabob of Oude, and the Duab, the Hindu inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished for their lofty stature, which rather exceeds that of Europeans, and their robust frame of body, which, in almost all, is inured to martial toil by exercises (I speak more particularly of the Rajpoots, who form a considerable proportion of this population), than they are for some

of the finest qualities of the mind. They are brave, generous, and humane, and their truth is as remarkable as their courage. The great proportion of the army of the Bengal establishment is composed of these men ; and it is remarkable that there are few corporal punishments in that army, the slightest reproach being felt as the greatest punishment is among other nations. I have spoken more to the military class of the Hindus than to the others, because I am more acquainted with them ; but, from all I ever heard of those who follow civil pursuits, it is much the same, allowing for the difference of the habits of life, as that of the Bengal sepoys."

Now I will venture to give you one word more from another individual, and then I have done ; and you will not accuse that individual of being over partial to the natives of India. Certainly he does not stand very high in the estimation of their friends. That individual is Warren Hastings. Now what is his testimony ? I have spoken of the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan on the trial of Warren Hastings ; but after he had retired for years, and had dwelt in obscurity, he was summoned by a mandate of the House of Commons to give evidence before that house in 1813. When he had made his statement before the Committee, one of the members asked him how it was that his testimony before them differed so much with his conduct while in India ? "Sir," replied he, "I am not here to reconcile my inconsistencies, but to state upon oath, as an aged man bordering on the grave, what I know to be the truth." Now what is his testimony ? When calmly looking back upon the character of the natives of India, he says :

"Great pains have been taken to inculcate into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature. I affirm, by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue, and wholly unfounded. What I have to add must be taken as my belief, but a belief impressed by a longer and more intimate acquaintance with the people than has fallen to the lot of many of my countrymen. In speaking of the people, it is necessary to distinguish the Hindus, who form the great portion of the population, from the Mahometans, who are intermixed with them, but generally live in separate communities ; the former are gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shewn to them, than prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion, as any people on the face of the earth. They are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority. They are superstitious, it is true, but they do not think ill of us for not thinking as they do."

Here end my testimonies to the character of the Hindoos. And why do I cite these testimonies one after the other ? and why do I keep you from those branches of the question which to you are more interesting, as affecting your pursuits and callings on this side of the ocean ? It is for this reason : I am anxious you should have just conceptions of the people in whose behalf I plead. As I pleaded for freedom and justice on behalf of the negro, whom I exhibited not as an imperfect, wretched being, but as a being capable of being elevated by the Christian care of this country, and made to be the partaker of heavenly grace : so, as I entreated for one million in the West, do I plead for one hundred millions in the East, and that you may care for them, I wish you to know them ; that you may love them, I desire you to admire them. I would not strip them of their superstition ; I would not annihilate, by a figure of rhetoric, the car of Juggernaut. Let every pile that has been kindled smoke before you ; let every victim that has been crushed beneath the ponderous car of idolatry, writhe

in agony before your vision ; and by every funereal pyre, and every bleeding victim of superstition, I call upon you as Christians to rise to the deliverance of this race, whom a mysterious Providence permits you to rule, and over the wide extent of whose territories you may scatter, out of the abundance of Christianity, the richest and most enduring blessings. Now I have one or two statements to make before I conclude ; and you will not perhaps blame me if I do not detain you to an extraordinary length to night, as I hope we may meet again. One or two statements with regard to the use we make of this country and I have done.

I have shown you the extent of this land, its population, its riches, and its capacity. Until 1813 it was altogether in the hands of a monopoly—The East India “Company.” And what did they tell us ? A number of fanatical merchants of this country said, “ Open the trade with India.” The East India Company replied, “ Gentlemen, you know little what you talk. Are not *we* trading with India ? What have you to do with India ?” Well, but you do nothing with India ; give us a chance of sending our manufactures to India.—“ Poh, poh,” said the directors ; and in 1813 they held a solemn meeting on the subject, and they put out a manifesto, in which they declared that it was impossible that any large addition could be made to the exports to India ; and why ? because the nature of the Indian people, their climate, and their usages, put such a thought entirely out of the question ; that is to say, that the simplicity and fixed habits of the Hindoo, render it perfectly impossible for you to increase your exports of plain and printed cottons. They were naked because they loved to be in a state of nature ; they went without turbans, and scarfs, and trowsers, and flowing robes, because they chose to exhibit nature in primitive and unadorned simplicity. They would not have your draperies as a gift : you cannot go an inch beyond the point we have reached. “ Let us try,” said the merchants of England ; and ultimately they obtained a partial opening of the trade. Now let us take the last year of the monopoly trade with India. How much did they company export during the last year of the many palmy years of exclusive trade ? They exported to the whole of India to the wondrous amount of £870,000 ! a mighty extent of exports among one hundred millions of natives, two hundred thousand soldiers, and all the European functionaries, with their gold sticks and train-bearers from one end of the country to the other ! A wondrous amount it looks ! During the preceding year they declared they could not increase their exports to India. Why, in 1819, five years after the experiment of a somewhat unshackled trade was made, the extent of exports were—what ? £870,000 ? No : £3,052,741. So much for the truth of the oracle. Take another fact. In 1814, our exports to India—I am coming home to Manchester—were, in printed cotton, six hundred and four thousand eight hundred yards ; in plain cottons, two hundred and thirteen thousand four hundred and eight yards ; making the magnificent sum of eight hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and eight yards of plain and printed cottons. The declared value was £109,480. Then came free trade, with all its vague and false philosophy. In 1832, what were the exports of printed cottons—six hundred and four thousand eight hundred yards ? No : eighteen million two hundred and ninety-one thousand six hundred and fifty yards. And their plain cottons, how much ?—three hundred thousand

yards. No: *thirty-nine millions two hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and eleven yards!* The declared value—what? £100,000? No: but £1,531,393; leaving the balance in favour of free trade, and against the announcements of the Leadenhall-street sages, of fifty-six millions *seven hundred and forty-nine thousand nine hundred and fifty-three yards*, and £1,421,913 in the pockets of the British manufacturers.

Look then at India. You see that something can be done. Now, I ask, why have not the exports gone on increasing. Will some philosopher tell me, as they told us in 1813, that we cannot increase our exports? We shall see. I have upon this table, authorities upon authorities in proof of the earnest desire of the natives generally, to consume our manufactures; and, on another occasion, I shall refer to these; but I will just say, that though all the imports into India, of plain and printed cotton, of hardware, of delph ware, flint glass, hermetically sealed hams, London porter, Madeira wine, and everything else that makes the table of the nabob groan when it is spread before his guests—all, all come from England; yet, the sum total of our exports to India are what? £3,440,000; and our imports from India, what? £2,500,000. Now, let us test this. What are your imports from the United States in one article alone—cotton? How much do you pay brother Jonathan? Is it £3,000,000, or £6,000,000, or £9,000,000? Would not £12,000,000 be nearer the mark for the single article of cotton wool? As for your exports, I shall endeavour to give them on another occasion. But the imports from America of cotton exceed the imports from India at least eight or nine times over. But let us apply another test. There is the island of Mauritius, inhabited by ninety-six thousand human beings, of whom, the other day, seventy-six thousand were slaves; and they are little better yet, because they have not yet had time so materially to improve their circumstances, as to make a very material alteration in the trade of that island. Therefore, I shall go back to the years of their apprenticeship, in order to give you the calculations which I think most just. To the island of Mauritius, with a population of only ninety-six thousand, our exports were £356,000; our imports, £697,000; and the taxes upon all, including both slaves and masters, were 52s. 8d. per head. Take the colony of Sydney, made up of all sorts. Sydney is said to contain a population of eighty-five thousand. From Sydney they export, as you are aware, very much wool and other things, to the amount of £514,000, and import to the amount of £749,000; and the inhabitants of Sydney pay taxes per head of 77s. 7d. Then, in British Guiana, where there is a population of ninety-nine thousand seven hundred, we export to the amount of £666,000, and import to the amount of £1,929,000, and the whole population pay on an average 31s. 3d. per head in taxes. The little island of Trinidad, with a population of forty thousand, takes to the amount of £233,000, and exports to the amount of £298,000. And the despised island of St. Domingo, said to be over-run with brutes in the form of negroes—those human beings whom all the world have agreed to laugh at, but could not conquer—they, you know, have an export trade of about a million, and an import trade of about a million, though the population is not more than one million one hundred thousand. Then look at British India, containing one hundred millions of inhabitants, whose export trade does not exceed £2,500,000, or about 6d. per head, and with an import trade

that we hear so much about, amounting to £3,440,000, being about 8d. per head over all the country. And what taxes do the people pay?—though ground to the earth by their weight. They don't pay 77s. 7d. with the convicts of Sydney; they don't pay 52s. 8d. with the Mauritians; they don't pay 31s. 3d. with the inhabitants of British Guiana; nor 23s. with the population of Trinidad; or some 36s. with the people of this country, but altogether they pay 4s. per head, which, taking their population at one hundred millions, makes the sum of £20,000,000. Here, then, we see at a glance the effects of misgovernment. Now, what are the causes that bring about these effects I shall not state to-night; but on another occasion I will carry you to India, and reveal them to you without concealment. The whole truth shall be told of the character of the government of that country, in order that you may see how it is that no more revenue is raised, that no more of the produce of the country is exported, and that no more of our manufactures are carried from these shores to that immense country.

And what is my object in all this? I wish to improve and elevate the condition of the Hindoo. How is it to be improved? Though I should tell you of his wrongs for a month from this time, if I chalk out no plan, if I deal in no practical demonstrations, if I show you not that you possess the power, I might harrow up your feelings, I might extract your tears, I might send you—and that would be something, that would be much—I might send you to pray for them, but I should not answer the question which your beating hearts and indignant minds would ask—"What can we do for India?" But I can show you that you can do every thing for India; by going with us in our benevolent movements, by gaining information yourselves, by diffusing it among your neighbours, by meetings like this, and by individual exertions elsewhere—that you may excite an amount of interest in favour of India which cannot be overcome; and when parliament assembles, may petition for a removal of those fiscal hindrances, which now, like a magic spell, bind the shores of that country, and prevent the produce of your manufactures from enjoying a much further and more extensive exportation. If those hindrances be removed, I promise you that you shall be enriched; and that while you enrich yourselves, you shall be conferring incalculable blessings upon a race of human beings who will not fail, whatever other rewards you may enjoy, to bless you for your kindness, and to pray for your prosperity. I shall endeavour to show you that you hold at once in your hand the charter of your own freedom, and the freedom of millions of the human family. One word upon the topic so familiar and so dear to me, and to you also, and I shall conclude this address. We mourn over slavery, for it exists still. Though we have achieved for the islands of the West Indies a noble triumph—and there is a friend here (Mr. Chamberlain) beside me, who could tell you of the horrors of former times, and the joys and blessings of the better system,—though we have achieved a triumph in the West Indies, have we liberated all the African bondsmen who groan in slavery on the face of the earth? America! free America, republican America, Christian America, America with her bibles, and revivals, and magnificent missionary operations; America, with her Declaration in one hand, and the bible in the other, cruelly and inconsistently tramples upon the necks of two million five hundred thousand of her population. Brazil holds two millions more; Spain, five hundred thousand more; and

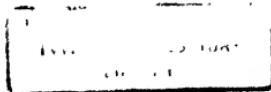
Sweden, and Portugal, and Denmark, about one million more ; making an aggregate of between five and six millions of human beings held in bondage. And what does this produce ? A slave trade between Africa and the other parts of the world, to the extent of one hundred and sixty thousand, or one hundred and seventy thousand per annum, at a cost to Africa, as has been demonstrated, of three hundred and seventy five thousand, or nearly ; so that during every revolution of this earth upon its axis, more than one thousand human beings are either by slaughter or enslavement sacrificed. Either they are slaughtered in the predatory wars waged to procure slaves, or die in the dreadful march from the interior to the coast, or are murdered in their passage, or pine in bondage on the rice plains of Carolina, or the valley of the Mississippi ; and thus three hundred and seventy five thousand of the children of Africa are either immolated on their own shores, die upon the ocean, or are carried into returnless captivity. We wish this to be put an end to. And how is this trade to be put an end to ? Do men go to the expense of sending Russian fiends to Africa, to steal men and women, that they may have the abstract pleasure of ill-treating them, and calling them slaves ? No : you want cotton. Your mills are continually crying, give, give, give. The Americans love money ; and to get your money, they send men to Africa to steal men and women and children there, and to bring them to Texas or Cuba, in order that you may sweeten your morning drink with sugar, and clothe yourselves with cotton. Now, why must every vein of Africa thus bleed ? Why must every wind that passes over the plains of Carolina gather up the sighs of broken hearts ? Will the cotton tree grow only in the valley of the Mississippi ? Must the crushed cane with its sweets be procured at the expense of the crushed hearts of millions of human beings ? Where is the home of the cotton tree ? Is it America ? No. There it is a foreigner and an exotic. The home of the cotton tree is India ; there it has grown for four thousand years. Do you want to know who wore it ? The Hindoos and the Egyptians wore it ; the noble, graceful, civilized Asiatics wore it. I say civilized—luxuriant in all the fruits of learning and taste ; while our barbarous ancestors clothed their bodies with skins, or covered them with paint. Look then from the shores of America to the plains of India—to the birth-place of the cotton plant. Encourage India ; foster and cherish India. Speak the word ; and you shall have cotton, and you shall have no discriminating duties ; we will not ask you to say, "which is the blood-stained produce, and which is the produce of well paid industry." The willing husbandman will give you cotton for 4d. per lb. while the slave master, taxed with the curse of his system, cannot afford it you for less than 9d. per lb. Here then are profit and philanthropy going hand in hand ; and as we are all agreed as rational beings to use *means* for the accomplishment of our ends, I believe it is our duty to look upon this question in this aspect. I touch upon it the more freely, because I find, standing as I do before this audience, the most grave and influential part of my subject would be left unnamed, if I did not tell you that upon the principle of political economy, by putting into operation the laws of supply and demand, by breaking down the barriers which prejudice and ignorance have upreared, you may give happiness to a hundred millions of human beings, freedom to millions more, and peace and security to an entire nation on the continent of Africa.

All that I can say with regard to cotton will apply to sugar, rice, coffee, tobacco, indigo, linseed, and to grains of every kind; in fact every thing that you now import from other tropical climates may be all cultivated in India, and in such abundance as amply to supply all our national demands. There is one other thing that occurs to me at this time, and it is this: we have too long shut our eyes to the manner in which we have ruled the countries that through successive years and ages have come under our sway. Colonization is now in every body's mouth. Australia is to be colonized; New Zealand is to be colonized; Texas is to be colonized; and by and by we shall talk of colonizing India. There are those, and there are not a few of them, who think that Hindoo intellect and industry are not enough, and that ere the treasures of that country can be developed, you must send out British artisans and mechanics; that you must send out British agriculturists to hold the plough, to put in the seed, and to thrust in the sickle when the harvest is ripe. I don't believe this; but if we must have colonies, I want to lay down such principles, and to see them recognized, as will not only spare the lives, but promote the happiness of those with whom we have to do. I do not want to see the scenes enacted in India which have been enacted in Mexico and Peru, the West India Islands, and North America. Having named America, suffer me, before I sit down, to say a word respecting the red Indians, who once roamed free and happy over the face of that country. It is well known to you, that, to assist in the promotion of a great object, I visited the United States. Whilst there, I trod the banks of many splendid rivers, covered with primeval forests, or ornamented with the beautiful habitations of happy husbandmen, surrounded by fertile and well cultivated farms. But never, upon the banks of the Delaware, or the Hudson, or the Mohawk, or the Merrimack, did I behold one solitary representative of all the teeming tribes who possessed the country, before the genius of Columbus pointed the white man to its shores. Standing in the midst of a proud trans-atlantic city, surrounded by crowded marts, and towering steeples, and stately dwellings, and summing up the scenes of other days, the heart is deeply affected by the contrast, and you are ready to exclaim, "On this spot, now surrounded by all the splendour of civilized life, the Indian chieftain pursued the panting deer, or wooed in solitude his dusky mate. Here lived and loved another race of human beings—here, in the still waters of the sedgy lake, they paddled the light canoe along the rocky shore—here too they engaged in the death grapple—and here, when the strife was over, they smoked the pipe of peace—here too they worshipped the Great Spirit—not the God of Revelation, for they knew him not—but the God of the Universe, whom they adored in everything around them. But all this has passed away! Two hundred years have been enough to sweep away a whole race. The council fire is quenched—the lodge is in ruins—the hunting ground of the Indian is covered by the dwellings of the white man—and the time is at hand when the last of these children of the wilderness will taste the bitter fruits of European colonization, and leave the land of his forefathers to the possession of strangers. The fate of the red Indian awaits, I fear, other races of mankind, and I am anxious to lift up my voice against the execution of the bloody decree which has gone out against the defenceless children of nature. Rather would I see India with all her riches a sealed country, than behold her children sacrificed on the

shrine of our cupidity. I would have our wharves covered with the sugar, cotton, and tea, and rice, and indigo of India, but I would not have a single native of the country enslaved or dispossessed. I would not have the scenes of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence perpetrated over again upon the banks of the Burrampooter and the Ganges. Least of all, would I have those energies which I desire to see exerted to *sare* India, put forth to injure and destroy her. I want you to send nothing to India but just laws, your orders, your money, and your manufactures. If you will follow me through the lectures I have commenced, from topic to topic, from demonstration to demonstration, I will show you how, without going beyond the limits of your own Exchange and manufactory, you may bestow prosperity and happiness upon a great and grateful people, and bring down upon you the blessing of millions ready to perish. I invoke you, then, by every feeling of enlightened patriotism, by every principle of honourable enterprise, and every recollection of human responsibility, to enter upon the work I have set before you. So shall you prove yourselves a generous and magnanimous people. So shall your righteousness go before you, and the glory of the Lord bring up the rear.

END OF THE FIRST LECTURE.

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SECOND LECTURE.

British responsibility towards India—Paramount authority of Parliament over the affairs of India—India neglected by Parliament, as well as by the East India Proprietary—Actual condition of the people of India—Prevalence of Famine—Famine of 1832, in which 500,000 perished—Famine in Bengal in 1770, when three millions perished—Tyranny of British rule in India—The Land Tax—Application of the Revenue of India—Decline of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures—Poverty of the people—The claims of India upon the energetic philanthropy of England.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The possession of sovereignty over extensive kingdoms is a sacred trust, for which nations are not less responsible than individuals, a delegation from the supreme fountain of power; and as the unalterable laws of nature forbid us to confound men with things, or to forget the reciprocal obligations subsisting between the sovereign and the subject, we can scarcely be guilty of a greater crime than to consider the latter as merely subservient to the interests of the former. Every individual of the immense population subjected to our sway, has claims on our justice and benevolence, which we cannot with impunity neglect; the wants and sufferings of every individual utter a voice which goes to the heart of humanity. In return for their allegiance, we owe them protection and instruction, together with every effort to ameliorate their condition and improve their character.” These, sirs, are the words of one of the most gifted of modern writers, and it will be allowed that they are not an inappropriate introduction to a lecture on the duty and interest of Great Britain, to consider the condition and claims of her possessions in the East. But it may be said that the sentiments I have borrowed, are more applicable to the duty of those who are the appointed rulers and guardians of our Eastern possessions, than to us. I fully grant that they are primarily applicable to those, who have taken upon themselves the fearful trust and responsibility of governing the myriad population of British India; but, if it can be shewn that those who have assumed the responsibility have forgotten or evaded it—that the government of India has hitherto proceeded upon principles of exclusive interests and self-aggrandisement—that proprietors have been more intent upon receiving large dividends for themselves, and obtaining lucrative appointments for their friends, than upon promoting the welfare of the people from whom their wealth is drawn—that the servants of the Company, while alive to the pay, the perquisites, and the pensions of office, have been indifferent to the happiness or misery of those around them—that directors have found enough to do to distri-

bute their patronage and attend to their private concerns, and have been anxious rather to resist all experiments to better the condition and bring out the resources of the country, than to invent and carry out plans of improvement—if, I say, it can be shewn that the welfare of the multiplying millions of the East has been overlooked in a general and prevalent desire to advance party and personal objects, then, I think, it will be seen and felt by the friends of India, that the time is come to look from those who have proved themselves (to say the least) unequal to the due discharge of their delegated trust, to those by whom that trust has been confided, and who are bound, before man and before God, to see that the power they have bestowed, is neither neglected, transcended, nor abused. But, further; if it can be shewn that, through the incompetence or malversation of the rulers of India, a vast amount of misery and injustice has been inflicted upon the natives; that the prosperity of the empire has declined; that the sources of its revenue are gradually diminishing; that already the symptoms of disaffection and distrust are appearing; add to which, that the growth in wealth and comfort of the people of this country is greatly retarded by the present system of Indian administration—then, sirs, I think a case has been made out warranting a prompt and effectual interference. I think I shall fully succeed, before these lectures are brought to a close, in shewing that such a case exists.

More than twenty years ago, the late Mr. Mill was of opinion, that the members of the court of proprietors (the democratical branch of the East India Company) had forgotten their duty, and had become utterly indifferent to the way in which the government of India was conducted. After describing the constitution and powers of that court, and labouring to prove that “the aristocracy and monarchy were subordinate and subject” to it, he says—“Notwithstanding the power which, by the theory of the constitution, is thus reserved to the popular part of the system, all power has centered in the court of directors; and the government and the company have been an oligarchy in point of fact. So far from meddling too much, the court of proprietors has not attended to the common affairs, even sufficiently for the business of inspection.” That the honourable court has not improved since this likeness was drawn, you will believe, when I tell you, that at a recent meeting, the members allowed themselves to be told by one of the directors, that their business was *not*, to call for papers or to inquire into the acts of the court above, but, to receive their dividends, and leave other matters to their superiors. On that occasion, not a murmur, not a word of dissent was heard. The law was taken from the lips of the director with mute submission, and the constituency stood rebuked in the presence of their haughty representative. Little, therefore, can be looked for from men, who, having long lost sight of their duties, have at last suffered their own rights to be taken away, and can now calmly submit to be told by their elected servants, that they have no right to look into their own affairs. Alas! for the people of India, while their destinies are in hands like these. It is impossible, sirs, to attend a meeting of the court of proprietors, with a mind suitably affected by the consideration of the vast magnitude and importance of the interests connected with our empire in the East, and there to mark the character of the debates, the reception which certain great questions meet with, and the votes that are given, without deeply lamenting the situation of

those whose happiness depends upon the legislation of such a body of men. It appears quite evident that every measure intended for the effectual relief of the people of India, or for the advancement to any considerable extent of the prosperity of this country in connection with the East, must be originated out of doors. It is not impossible that when such measures have been fully discussed and deliberately decided upon, and are loudly demanded by the British people, they may be adopted and carried out by the East India Company; but the history of the past forbids us to expect that any comprehensive plan of amelioration or improvement will be put into operation, until it is rendered necessary and inevitable by the wishes and determination of the enlightened and philanthropic portions of this great community.

But let us see what grounds there are to justify a popular movement in favour of India. If the object is to be gained in whole or in part by legislative measures, must not such legislative measures emanate exclusively from the East India Company? Are they not the rulers of India until the expiration of the charter? The East India Company are, it is true, the rulers of India, but neither the sole, the supreme, nor the irresponsible rulers. Though they possess what is called a charter act, constituting them the managers of an immense territory, and the receivers of its revenues; and although they have been permitted to exercise almost unshared and uncontrolled sovereignty, yet it is nevertheless equally true, that, according to the terms of their charter, they are subject every moment to the authority of parliament, which retains the power to make laws for India, as though the charter act had never been granted. Nay more, parliament is bound to watch over the affairs of India, and to demand from the cabinet minister, at the head of the Board of Control, a full exposition of all matters connected with the welfare of our Indian empire. I will read to you the clause to which I refer; it is the 51st clause of the present charter, premising that the words it contains are not words of course, but inserted for the special purpose of pointing out the duty and obligation of the imperial parliament, and the competency of the people of England to look to parliament for the redress of India's wrongs. The clause is as follows:—

"Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend to affect in any way the right of parliament to make laws for the said territories, and for all the inhabitants thereof; and it is expressly declared that a full, complete, and constantly existing right and power is intended to be reserved to parliament, to control, supersede, or prevent all proceedings and acts whatsoever of the said governor-general in council, and to repeal and alter at any time any law or regulation whatsoever, made by the said governor-general in council, and in all respects to legislate for the said territories, and all the inhabitants thereof, in as full and ample a manner as if this act had not been passed."—Act of Wm. IV. cap. lxxxv. sec. 51.

Here, then, is the charter of India; here is the palladium of the liberties and happiness of that country. The propriety and duty of making the company thus responsible to parliament are admirably argued by the matchless Edmund Burke, in his celebrated speech on the India Bill. In answer to the question, to whom he would make the East India Company answerable, he says—

"To whom would I make the East India Company accountable? Why, to parliament, to be sure; to parliament, which alone is capable of comprehending the magnitude of its object and its abuse; and alone capable of an effectual legislative remedy. The very charter, which is held out to exclude parliament

from correcting malversation with regard to the high trust vested in the company, is the very thing which at once gives a title, and imposes on us a duty to interfere with effect, wherever power and authority originating from ourselves are perverted from their purposes, and become instruments of wrong and violence. If parliament, sir, had nothing to do with this charter, we might have some sort of epicurean excuse to stand aloof, indifferent spectators of what passes in the company's name in India and in London. But if we are the very cause of the evil, we are in a special manner engaged to the redress: and for us passively to bear with oppressions committed under the sanction of our own authority, is in truth and reason for this house to be an active accomplice in the abuse. That the power, notoriously, grossly abused, has been bought from us, is very certain. But this circumstance, which is urged against the bill, becomes an additional motive for our interference, lest we should be thought to have sold the blood of millions of men for the base consideration of money. We sold, I admit, all that we had to sell; that is, our authority, not our control. We had not a right to make a market of our duties."

It is notorious, however, that the parliament, like the East India proprietary, have failed in their duty to their possessions in the East. So far from being impressed with a sense of their value and importance, our legislators have appeared to regard them as almost below their serious notice. The experience of more than fifty years has shown, that the most insignificant topic of a local, temporary, or personal character, has a better chance of securing the attention and consideration of the legislature, than the condition and claims of a dominion as extensive as Europe, with a population comprising a sixth part of the inhabitants of the globe. The very best informed on parliamentary matters, are perfectly aware that this is the painful fact. Never was the disregard of Indian affairs more conspicuous, than during the debates which took place on the granting of the last charter. Do you ask, when will it be otherwise? I answer, when you, the people of England, open your eyes to the value of this empire, to the responsibility of your position, and the solemn duty which your distant dominion imposes upon you; when you show your determination to explore its vast resources, and cultivate a kindly and advantageous intercourse with its wretched inhabitants; when you enter with vigour upon the prosecution of that honourable and extensive commerce with the East to which you have been so long invited, but in vain. Then will this forgotten empire become visible to the optics of honourable and right honourable legislators; then will they begin, with eager and wondering eyes, to measure its length and its breadth; then will they enter into nice computations and comparisons respecting its imports and exports, its produce and capacity; then will India no longer be a bore and a bugbear, but, what it really is, and ought to be, a subject claiming the profoundest study, and an empire worthy the loftiest eloquence which orators can display, and the wisest consideration which statesmen can bestow.

If then, we find this mighty empire at present neglected alike by the East India Company and the parliament, what shall be done? Shall we abandon to their fate scores of millions of our fellow subjects? Shall we leave a people ignorant of their political rights, and helpless because ignorant, the prey of insatiate tax gatherers, the victims of every experiment which their rulers may choose to make, to ascertain how far and how long they may extract wealth from a beggared people, in defiance of every principle of good government, and every law of the living God? Are we at liberty to turn a deaf ear to the piercing cry of distress wasted to us from the plains of Hindostan?

Have we no duty to perform to ourselves and to our country? None to the consciences of proprietors, directors, and legislators, slumbering at their posts, with the destinies of millions in their hands, heedless of the costliness and beauty of the brightest gem in the crown of their sovereign, and resolutely refusing to learn the lesson, that if they would but

“Rule the country for the country's sake,
It soon would give them more than now they *take*?”

Sirs, these are solemn and weighty questions. I have considered the answer, and, I have no hesitation to declare my conviction, that we have hitherto, as a nation, been criminally negligent of the rights, the privileges, and the interests of those whom we have subjected to our sway, and that at our door, not less than that of the rulers of India, lie the guilt and disgrace of the present system. We have read with exultation and pride of the conquests achieved by our soldiers in oriental climes—we have delighted to do honour to the heroes who have returned from the East, laden with the trophies of their hard-won victories—we have placed the wreath of glory upon the brow of the military chieftain, and hailed him as the saviour rather than the destroyer of mankind; we have heard with patriotic rapture of the accession of province after province, and kingdom after kingdom, to our dominion in the east; we have spoken with ignorant complacency of the mildness and justice of our rule, contrasted with the sanguinary and perfidious career of the Mussulman conqueror; we have congratulated the children of Brahmah upon their happy lot, in being brought under our yoke; we have, too, claimed credit for our Christian zeal, and have pointed with devout admiration to our Buchanans, our Martyns, our Hebers, and our Marshmans, as to burning and shining lights, sent back from the western world to illuminate the darkened chambers of the East. All this we have done, and, more recently, we have joined in the cry of “*Free trade with India*,” and “*Justice to the Commerce of England*,” while we have remained strangers to the actual condition of the millions brought into political affinity with us, and to the true practical character of the government under which they have been placed, and the nature of those measures which are needed to regenerate and elevate the land. It is high time to awake out of sleep—to rouse ourselves from our unfraternal lethargy, and to engage in a hearty and united effort to obtain for the natives of British India that encouragement and protection, which, if much longer delayed, may come to them too late. The measure of our duty upon this question is the measure of our capacity. What we *can* do we *ought* to do. We are urged to the fulfilment of our duty by the most powerful considerations. Our fellow citizenship—our past neglect—our national honour—our present circumstances—our future advantages—all say to us, “consider the condition and claims of India.”

In speaking of India, I have already looked at the extent, beauty, and fertility of the country, and its capacity to furnish us with almost every article of tropical produce. I have also glanced at the population, their moral character, and their disposition to become our willing and industrious agents in the development of the exhaustless resources of their native land. We come now to look at the actual condition of the people, and in doing so, my view must be exceedingly brief and general, as I desire to hasten to another branch of the

subject. Let me observe, that if I do not on this occasion cite written authorities in proof of all the statements I make, it is only because the time would fail me to do so, but that I hold myself prepared to substantiate, by evidence of the highest character, the truth and accuracy of all that I advance. In my published address it will be seen that I am in the habit of furnishing abundant testimonies.

The condition of India!—Look at the circumstances of the people, impoverished almost to the lowest possible degree. The ranks of society, as nearly as can be, levelled. Princes deposed—nobles degraded—landed proprietors annihilated—the middle classes absorbed—the cultivators ruined—great cities turned into farm villages—villages deserted and in ruins—mendicancy, gang robbery, and rebellion increasing in every direction. This is no exaggerated picture. This is the state and the present state of India. Some of the finest tracts of land have been forsaken, and given up to the untamed beasts of the jungle. The motives to industry have been destroyed. The soil seems to lie under a curse. Instead of yielding abundance for the wants of its own population, and the inhabitants of other regions, it does not keep in existence its own children. It becomes the burying place of millions, who die upon its bosom, crying for bread. In proof of this, turn your eyes backward upon the scenes of the past year. Go with me into the north-western provinces of the Bengal presidency, and I will show you the bleaching skeletons of five hundred thousand human beings, who perished of hunger in the space of a few short months: yes, died of hunger in what has been justly called the granary of the world! Bear with me, if I speak of the scenes which were exhibited during the prevalence of this famine. The air for miles was poisoned by the effluvia emitted from the putrefying bodies of the dead. The rivers were choked with the corpses thrown into their channels. Mothers cast their little ones beneath the rolling waves, because they would not see them draw their last gasp, and feel them stiffen in their arms. The English in the city were prevented from taking their customary evening drives. Jackals and vultures approached, and fastened upon the bodies of men, women, and children, before life was extinct. Madness, disease, despair, stalked abroad, and no human power present to arrest their progress. *It was the carnical of death!* And this occurred in British India—in the reign of Victoria the First! Nor was the event extraordinary and unforeseen. Far from it: 1835-36 witnessed a famine in the northern provinces: 1833 beheld one to the eastward. 1822-23 saw one in the Deccan. They have continued to increase in frequency and extent under our sway for more than half a century. Under the administration of Lord Clive, a famine in the Bengal provinces swept off three millions; and at that time the British speculators in India had their granaries filled to repletion with corn. Horrid monopoly of the necessities of life! Thus three millions died while there was food enough, and to spare, locked up in the storehouses of the rich!

An eloquent writer in the *Edinburgh Review* has thus described this event:

"In the summer of 1770, the rains failed; the earth was parched up; the tanks were empty; the rivers shrank within their beds; a famine, such as is known only in countries where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy

had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers by, and with loud wailings implored a handful of rice for their children. The Hoogley every day rolled down thousands of corpses close by the porticos and gardens of the English conquerors. The very streets of Calcutta were blocked by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile, or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained, but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy intelligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were *uneasy about their dividends*. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects, and indignation soon began to mingle itself with pity. It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice of the country; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it; that one English functionary, who, the year before, was not worth a hundred guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London! *

The enlightened Abbe Raynal gives a very similar, though a more lengthened account, and adds, that it is most remarkable that,

"Amidst this terrible distress, such a multitude of human creatures, pressed by the most urgent of all necessities, remained in an absolute inactivity, and made no attempt whatever for their self-preservation. All the Europeans, especially the English, were possessed of granaries, and these very granaries they respected. Private houses were so, too: no revolt, no murders, not the least violence prevailed. The unhappy Indians, resigned to a quiet despair, confined themselves to the request of that succour they did not obtain, and peaceably waited the relief of death."*

Happily for the province in which this scene occurred, there has been no similar visitation since. In 1793, the Marquis Cornwallis laid the foundation of a system which has led to the improvement of the entire face of the country, and to the prevention of famines; a proof that, though we have no control over the seasons, we can nevertheless avert those calamities by which periods of drought are always accompanied in ill-governed and over-taxed districts. To add to the horror with which we are called to regard the last dreadful carnage, we are made acquainted by the returns of the custom-houses with the fact, that as much grain was exported from the lower parts of Bengal as would have fed the number who perished—(half a million)—for a whole year! My friends, do you realize this scene? If you do not, gather around you the population of this vast city—let every street, lane, and court pour out its teeming tenantry—let high and low, rich and poor, be collected. How many do you behold? three hundred thousand. Two hundred thousand must be added. And now survey the assembled concourse—compute if you can the mighty sum of existence—and then, imagine all these, condemned to die of hunger in the space of one year. Imagine the commencement, progress, and consummation of the work of death, and that, at the expiration of a year, all, upon whom you gazed at the beginning, had been carried off and swept away, not by the comparatively slow process which we are continually witnessing around us, and which carries away our lovers, acquaintances, and friends, but sentenced to be destroyed by famine, to be carried off in eight short months by the raging and unappeased appetite of hunger. Oh, horrid sacrifice! Will you not—I appeal to your compassion—I appeal to your generosity—I appeal to your patriotism—oh, will you not stretch forth your protecting arms to those wretched

* RAYNAL's History of the East and West Indies, vol. i., 271.

beings? Are you not exalted for that very purpose? Is there not for nations as well as individuals a day of probation, and a day of retribution? And, if we abuse our privileges, as surely as Rome, and Carthage, and Nineveh, and Tyre have sunk, and the richest maritime cities have become wretched villages, where the fisherman hangs his nets, so surely shall this land, now first among the nations of the world, be forgotten, or if remembered, remembered only to be infamous, if she stretches not forth the sceptre of mercy instead of the rod of oppression, and delivers not mankind from thralldom instead of binding them down in slavery. Avert, I beseech you, if you can, the recurrence of such appalling events. Even while I am speaking, a famine is desolating another of the provinces of India.

Do you ask, why this wholesale destruction of human life? I reply, and while I do so, I am fully aware of the nature of the accusation I bring against the government of India, at home and abroad, and am ready to sustain it—because the people have been virtually robbed of their soil—deprived of the fruits of their industry—prevented from accumulating the means of meeting a period of drought, and are thus doomed to death, should the earth refuse, for a single season, to yield its increase. Our government (says one of the highest authorities) has been practically one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed; and a committee of the House of Commons has declared that our revenue system in India, is one of habitual extortion and injustice, leaving nothing to the cultivator but what he is able to secure by *erosion* and *fraud*. Can any evidence be required, more conclusive, in proof of the ruinous nature of our administration, than is furnished by the fact, that famines are becoming almost general, and that they are sweeping off their victims by hundreds of thousands—and that these famines occur in the most fertile districts of the globe, and during a period of profound internal peace? The master evil of the present system in India is the *land tax*. The government has made itself *de facto* the *universal landlord*—has assumed the right to tax the soil to any extent—has fixed an assumed capability on every field of produce—then, an assumed price on the produce of the field—and then fixed, that from thirty-five to forty-five per cent. of the money value of the crop, shall be the tax to the state for ever—and, if the cultivator should lay out his money in the improvement, in any way, of the land under his management, the government claims the right of making a *new* assessment, in proportion to the assumed increased value of the crop. This is the unnatural system of the government in India—a system under which

— all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable.

The results of this system have appeared in a thousand afflicting forms. Rural industry has been crushed—enterprise has been rendered profitless—cultivated lands, overburthened by taxation, have been abandoned—the revenue has declined—the prosperity of the country has been undermined at its foundations—property has gone on deteriorating, until estates have been sold for less than the amount of one year's taxes. Mr. Rickards informs us that the land owners of Malabar offered their estates to the government, on condition of their receiving a bare subsistence of rice and curry in return. If the prin-

inciple of taxation has been bad, the mode adopted in collecting it has been no better. Mr. Fullerton, when a member of the council at Madras, thus described it :—

“Imagine (says he) the revenue leviable through the agency of one hundred thousand revenue officers; collected or remitted at their discretion, according to the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land, or his separate property: and, in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extra demand, imagine all the cultivators of a village liable at all times to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of the parish. Imagine collectors to every county, acting under the orders of a board, on the avowed principle of destroying all competition for labour by a general equalization of assessment: *seizing and sending back runaways to each other.* And lastly, imagining the collector the sole magistrate or justice of the peace of the county, through the medium and instrumentality of whom alone any criminal complaint of personal grievance suffered by the subject can reach the superior courts. Imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer employed in the collection of the land revenue, to be a police officer, vested with the power to *FINE, CONFINE, PUT IN THE STOCKS, AND FLOG any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case.*” 18,483

When I give a lecture, as I hope to do in the course of next week, on the cultivation of cotton in India, I shall show that the people of Manchester have not done justice to that portion of the world, that might have given to their gratified eyes a bountiful crop of cotton; but have looked to other regions, where the trade of cotton-planting is not very honourable, and where those employed in the cultivation of it are unfortunately not blessed with freedom to a licentious extent.

Add to this, that the cultivator is generally obliged to borrow money from his village banker for subsistence and seed, and that he is made to pay an exorbitant interest for this accommodation. Put these things together, and you may form some picture in your mind of the condition of the man who is called a *ryot* in British India. It is right to observe, that in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency, there has been a permanent settlement of the land tax, which, although at the time it was made was almost equal to one-half of the gross produce of the land in cultivation, has been found to be productive of much benefit, and to warrant the opinion that a permanent settlement (avoiding the errors of the former one), might be extended over the whole of India with the happiest effects. Yet this comparatively favoured region has recently been thrown into a state of confusion, alarm, and disaffection, by an inquisition on the part of government into the titles by which certain lands have been held rent-free from time immemorial. Having in my possession a letter recently addressed by a highly distinguished native of Bengal, to a friend in this country, I will read a part of it, bearing upon this subject. It is dated Calcutta, the 2d of May :—

“ You who are in England, give your thoughts to nothing else, at present, than to rumours of wars threatening us on the east, the west, and the north; but you have no idea of the extent of popular discontent and dissatisfaction prevailing within British India against the government, for the rigorous adoption of their oppressive resumption measures. No person can, in the present day, call himself master of any land tenure. The government functionaries, under various denominations, are searching every hole and corner for tracts of land for the purposes of resumption. Their operations, to say the least of them, are as bad as the ‘Spanish Inquisition.’ Men, whose only resources are the produce of their lands, who have derived all their support, and that of their families and children, from their lands, and who have all the while lived happy, and

without any anxiety, in the consciousness of these lands being their property, and of their being able to leave them behind for the future subsistence of their families, these men are now, all at once, put out of them by the mere stroke of the pen of a stippling officer, who perhaps passes sentence with no other object in view than to make a display of his zeal for the interests of his honourable employers, or to obtain a lift in their service. Now, speaking politically, what government can depend upon the security of its country, when its east, its west, and its north are choked with the smell of powder, and whilst its very allies are, from dissatisfaction, sending out emissaries to seek protection from its enemies, and its subjects are everywhere cherishing the deepest discontent? Any helping hand, then, which any of you may be able to hold out to avert the evils under which the natives are groaning, will be regarded as an everlasting obligation conferred on India."

Only a very short time before coming to this meeting, on looking over a file of Bombay papers, by the last arrival, I find an editorial article extracted from the *Agra Journal*, so entirely corroborative of the view I have taken, and so encouraging in reference to the work upon which I have entered, that I shall offer no apology for laying it before you. The article was occasioned by the arrival in India of the account of a meeting held in Glasgow, upon this subject, in January last.

"**THE GLASGOW PUBLIC MEETING.**—Want of space has prevented us from taking earlier notice of the Meeting, held by the citizens of Glasgow, on the 15th January, in behalf of the natives of this country; and the same cause precludes insertion of the resolutions entered into on that occasion; they have already appeared in the public prints.

"Always regarding discussions of this nature favourably, we look upon the proceedings of this meeting particularly, as *pregnant with the most beneficial consequences*; not, however, from the expectation that either the British Parliament or the Court of Directors will lend an attentive ear to its benevolent appeal. But we think, that the attention drawn by the leading men of influential cities, to India and Indian affairs, is well calculated to rouse the public mind, and to excite a spirit of inquiry on matters involving the best interests of the British Empire in the East. The strong array of facts which the resolutions embody, cannot fail in enlisting the better feelings of the people of Scotland in favour of the long neglected natives of this country; and it is high time that the lamentable apathy with which their welfare has hitherto been regarded were removed, and active measures taken to secure to them a tithe of those privileges which are elsewhere the inheritance of British subjects.

"Whatever may be the opinion of others to the contrary, a careful examination of the present condition of the natives in these provinces, has convinced us that much of the misery and depression under which they suffer, is attributable to the erroneous political system by which they have hitherto been governed. It has repeatedly been asserted that India is not surpassed by any country in fertility of soil; yet it is no less true that she has become "too expensive to govern," that her revenues are yearly decreasing, her wealth and resources being gradually dried up, and whole tracts depopulated from want of the common necessities of life. We do not assert that the famine and its fearful ravages, which have caused the cry of human misery to reach the ear, and excite the sympathies of Britain, are chargeable to the *rulers* of the country; we would rather endeavour to point out some of the *glaring evils under which the natives labour*, and we would then leave it to our British friends to determine whether, supposing they had to contend against such a system, poverty and misery would then be less felt, or the ravages of famine be less frequent.

"The land tax exacted by government as the holder or lord of the soil, we consider to be the most fruitful source of the accumulating evils that oppress the country. It is well known that no native can possess freehold property in the soil, which he may improve or alienate at pleasure, and there are consequently no country gentlemen or independent landlords. A policy which constitutes the government farmer-general of the soil, and which causes it to look to that source alone for the support of its ever increasing establishments, carries within itself the seeds of oppression and ruin, cuts off all interest and association between the soil and its children, stifles industry, takes away every motive to exertion,

and is a bar to all improvement. If even the system itself did not naturally tend to impoverish the country and thin its population, the mode in which it is carried into operation must inevitably produce those effects. A district is no sooner surveyed, and its quality of soil and means of irrigation carefully marked out and valued, than it is rented to a zamindar at so high a cost, that it is next to an impossibility he can exist, pay his rent, and be an honest man. On entering upon his lease, he makes advances in money or kind to the ryots, to assist them in its cultivation; on the produce of the season being gathered in, he deducts first the government demand, next his own share, including the amount of his advances, with interest, and then makes over the balance to the cultivators, who generally discover that they have toiled for a mere subsistence. This is applicable to favourable seasons only; in times of scarcity they are miserable indeed: with their burdens undiminished, their load of debt increased, and the only means of liquidating them taken away, starvation and death terminate the melancholy prospect that lies before them.

"It appears to us that nothing but the most energetic measures can raise the commerce and agriculture of India from their universally depressed condition: nothing short of the powerful voice of the British public, will be able to enforce the adoption of those measures, or to obtain even partial 'justice for India.' We therefore hail the institution of societies like those of Glasgow; and we trust they will persevere until their benevolent efforts are crowned with success. Multifarious are the objects which will demand their attention: the application of a portion of the revenue to national objects—the promotion of native education—the abolition of monopolies—the remodelling of the system of taxation—the establishment of an efficient body of police—and the improvement of internal communication. All these measures are of paramount importance; and, until they are carried into effect, we can have no hope of seeing India become, as she ought to be, a permanent source of wealth to Britain, and her right arm in the hour of need and peril."

I will offer no apology for reading this article, which you will, I am sure, regard as the best part of my lecture. Coming, as it does, from the scene of misery I have imperfectly described—written, as it is, by one who dwells upon the spot—one of those Europeans who were kept within the city walls by the fear of inhaling the deadly effluvia sent forth from the lifeless but unburied corpses of famished thousands—one of those who saw the vast multitude of haggard wretches, who were daily fed by the bounty of the government—and withal, a writer who has looked into the causes of these sickening and heart-rending visitations—this article, coming from such a quarter, and from such a man, should speak to us with a voice of authority.

But filled with indignation, as I am sure you must be, by this brief recital of some only of the wrongs inflicted on the natives of India, you will, perhaps, be disposed to imagine that of the money thus raised, some portion, at least, is applied to the good of the natives, and the improvement and embellishment of the face of the country. Alas! nothing of the kind. Of the twenty millions raised, the army devours nine millions; the tax gatherers, five; the debt, two; allowances and pensions, one; and two or three must come to this country to pay dividends of ten and a half per cent.—there they stick; ten and a half per cent. ten and a half, "come day, well day, welcome pay-day;" ten and a half! nothing less. No matter how dry the exchequer; no matter how wronged the people; no matter how heavy the debt, ten and a half per cent! Well, to pay this ten and a half per cent, £2,000,000 must come over here, to say nothing of the vast sums annually remitted by private individuals, or of fifty thousand pounds *secret service money*, an item which appears in the company's last accounts just furnished. The sum expended upon education is absolutely contemptible, and as for the advancement of the interests of the country by roads, bridges,

canals, and other facilities for internal communication, I have the authority of one of the very best informed writers upon Indian subjects, for saying, that when the East India Company was called upon, during the last parliamentary examination, to show what public works they had erected during the twenty years of their charter, it appeared that the whole sum expended in civil and military labours, over the entire face of the country, did not equal what has been expended upon the railway between here and Liverpool. No wonder then that agriculture languishes, and commerce too. What shall we say of the manufactures of the country? They have dwindled and decayed. The matchless muslins of Dacca, the rich brocades of Benares—these have ceased to be in demand, and ceased to be fabricated. The external commerce of the country, inwards and outwards, taken at ten millions, only amounts to one rupee, or two shillings per head. The poverty of the people in these districts is almost beyond conception. Numbers of the cultivators get but one meal a day, and that but a scanty one; while some are actually obliged to eke out their food by gathering wild herbs and weeds. The Hon. Mr. Shore says—

“ With respect to the poverty of the people:—We have heard so much of the blessings of the British government, and the wealth which the people have accumulated, while reposing under its beneficent shadow, that some of my readers will probably sneer at the mention of poverty. It is nevertheless true. Each district of the Bengal presidency averages about a million of inhabitants; yet, in each there are not, on the average, fifty men among the carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, jewellers, boat-builders, and other artificers, who could undertake to perform a piece of work to the value of fifty rupees, without receiving an advance in cash to procure the necessary materials; and this is a fact well known to all merchants and others, who have ever had occasion to build a house, or construct any work or machine. What should we think of the wealth and prosperity of England, if there were not fifty artificers out of every million of population, who could not engage to perform a work to the value of fifty pounds, without receiving an advance of money? It is precisely the same in the cultivation of the soil. The land is subdivided into small portions, each tilled by its respective owner, who has his own plough and bullocks; nineteen-twentieths of these are so poor, that without periodical advances at every harvest, to procure seed, and food to live on till the crop is ripe, they would not be able to cultivate at all.”

Take the testimony of a foreigner, the Rev. Howard Malcolm, of Boston, U. S.

“ Feb. 1837. A more beautiful country than that from Cuddalore to Tanjore (Madras) cannot possibly be imagined. The dense population and rich soil give their energies to each other, and produce a scene of surpassing loveliness; but the taxes and other causes keep down the labourers to a state below that of our Southern slaves.”

Oh, when shall we cease to furnish occasion for such taunts as these? When shall the proud pro-slavery American be prevented from spying out the nakedness of the land, and finding some apology for his own slave system—the vilest under the blue canopy of heaven—in the condition of our tax-ridden fellow-subjects on the fertile but mismanaged plains of India? Oh, that such rebukes may sting us to the performance of our duty! Let us make haste to do justice to India, and our reverend author shall no longer be able to talk of famishing Hindoos or “ Southern slaves,” for the prosperity of the one shall be the freedom of the other.

“ The government share of rice crops is, on an average, about 50 per cent. But the mode of collection (in money) causes the cultivator to pay about three-

fourths of his crop. The public treasury is further replenished by monopolies, by duties on exports and imports, for the most part heavy; by licenses for the sale of arrack and toddy; by stamps; by fees on judicial proceedings, &c. &c.

"As there is always power enough in a tropical sun to produce vegetation, moisture alone is necessary to constant cropping. Districts, therefore, furnished as this is, with tanks and rivers, present continually all the varieties of seasons in Europe. The eye wanders over large fields, in some parts of which men are ploughing, in others planting, and in others harvesting, at the same time. Most of the lands are cropped twice a year; sometimes with rice, but more frequently with rice first, and then some other grain or pulse. *The scene is beautiful; but squalid poverty and miserable mendicants constantly intrude;* and remind one of Pope's lines—

‘In vain kind seasons swell the teeming grain,
‘Soft showers distil, and suns grow warm in vain;
‘The swain, with tears, his frustrate labour yields,
‘And, famished, dies amidst his ripened fields! ’

"All the writers I have been able to consult, and most of my friends in various parts of Hindostan, declare India to be in a state of progressive poverty and depression. The following observation of Hamilton embodies the general idea. After stating many facts, and adducing public records to prove his assertion, he says, 'All the offices of emolument, civil and military, and the highest lines of commerce, are in the hands of strangers; who, after a temporary residence, depart with the capital they have accumulated. Under native rulers, even the extortions of rapacity, and the drains of tribute, returned into circulation, and promoted in some degree territorial industry. Under its present constitution, the remittance, or rather tribute, to Britain, carries off every year a large share of the produce, for which nothing is returned.'"—*Travels in South-Eastern Asia, including Hindostan*, vol. ii. pp. 69 to 70.

Behold the state of India! Agriculture depressed, disengaged, and prevented, by exorbitant and overwhelming taxation, and in some cases by positive prohibition. As a proof, look at the conduct of the East India Company towards Sir R. Grant:—

"Cotton and sugar are two great staple productions of India, and in the presidency of Bombay, where there are vast tracts of waste, the late governor, Sir R. Grant, in order to encourage the natives to produce these articles, so vital to the commerce and manufactures of England, invited them, by public proclamations, to take grants of land, on the terms of exemption from land-tax for a given number of years. Especial care was taken that the public revenue should not be diminished to the extent of one farthing by the operation of these grants. The result of this wise and humane measure was, that in a very few brief months, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce reported to the London East India and China Association, that excellent sugar from the Mauritius cane, and cotton equal to some of the finer kinds of American, were being produced. What did the Court of Directors, when they heard of these grants? The following notification issued in the Bombay Government Gazette of the 20th of June, 1838, must answer the question:

"The Honorable the Court of Directors having been pleased to disapprove of the notifications of the 24th of February, and 1st of August, 1835, and of the 1st and 17th of November, 1836, issued under the authority of Government by the Revenue Commissioner, granting certain exemptions from assessment to lands cultivated with cotton, and the Mauritius sugar cane, and to direct that such notifications be *immediately recalled*; the Right Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased hereby to cancel the said notifications from this date."

Such, I say, is the wretched condition of India. Manufactures are annihilated by the introduction of the produce of foreign machinery, and many of the productions of the country all but kept out of our ports by partial and onerous duties. The people, in the first place, robbed of their territory; then their labour made unprofitable by intolerable and ruinous assessments; their manufactures driven out

by foreign supplies ; the production and sale of the absolute necessities of life monopolised by the rulers of the country ; the administration of justice a bye-word and subject of derision, strippling functionaries from another land placed over them, filled with the pride and insolence of office, and the aristocracy of the skin ; their institutions invaded and broken up ; their pilgrims to the Ganges (till recently) taxed on the road ; their ancient public works suffered to crumble into dust, and their persons and pretensions treated with systematic and ineffable contempt. Such being the state of things, will you wonder to be told that the people do not love us ? Do you not rather wonder that six hundred and seventy-four civilians, and thirty thousand British troops are able to retain the country, and work all the mischief and ruin I have described ? Can you be surprised if they feel towards Britain as the poet has described ?

“ Full half a century has pass'd away,
And never, never, in one Indian soul,
Of all the millions crushed by our control,
Hath love, hath gratitude for aught that's dear,
Stirred towards thee, or any thought but fear.
We live among them like a walking blight,
Our very name the watchword of affright ;
No sympathy, no pity, no remorse,
Our end is profit and our means are force.”

“ It may be doubted (says a Company's servant) if at any time since we first occupied territory in India, such deep and dangerous disaffection has prevailed, as exists at present.”

“ By depriving the community of their rights, (says another) we have engendered crime, misery, and revolt ; and every fresh inroad on the municipalities loosens our hold on the affections of the people, and hastens our downfall.”

“ Such is the insecurity of our tenure of India, (says Sir Charles Metcalf) that I should not be the least surprised to awake some morning and find the whole thing blown up.”

“ I repeat it, (says Mr. Dickens, the Registrar of the Supreme Court at Bengal) terror and distrust extensively prevail among the people of this country, and if these feelings subside into the certainty that there is no hope, that will but generate other feelings which a rooted sense of wrong can never fail to produce.”

“ We talk (says Dwarkanauth Tagore, a worthy Brahmin, ‘ the most remarkable man in India, of his nation’) of the tyranny of the Mahomedan government ; but what are the English doing ? They are taking away from us all that the benevolence of the Mahomedans had given us. The just, the liberal, the enlightened English are depriving us of all that a tyrannical, bigoted, semi-barbarian's government bestowed. Is this the boasted justice and liberality of our rulers ? ”

Who does not feel these sarcasms, so richly deserved, bring a blush upon his cheek !

“ We are (says Mr. Shore) abhorred by the people, who would hail with joy, and instantly join, the standard of any power they thought strong enough to occasion our downfall.”

Finally, on this part of the subject, Mr. Adam says :—

“ The people would change masters to-morrow, without a struggle and without a sigh.”

Every one of the authorities I have quoted is, or has been, a servant of the East India Company, and every one of them, save one, is now living. Westmacott, the political agent ; Metcalf, formerly the acting governor-general, and now the governor of Jamaica ; the

Hon. Mr. Shore, collector of taxes and commissioner; and Mr. Adam, a commissioner on the subject of education; and the words I have last read are taken from the conclusion of his report. I have not quoted anything, and I never will quote anything, but the testimony of the Company's servants against the Company themselves.

I have now, sirs, dwelt upon the poverty of the people, and upon the causes of that poverty: upon the discontent of the people, and upon the insecurity of our dominion in India. I hope I have proved it to be the duty of the people of Great Britain to consider the condition and the claims of India. Hereafter, for I cannot do it now, I must look at the other part of the subject, and consider the interests of the people of this country to consider those claims and that condition. To-night I have neither time nor strength, nor you patience, to go into those details which will be better gone into at another time. But again I must remind you of your individual responsibility. Great impediments are to be removed; great efforts must be made, and those great efforts can only be made by great numbers, and the power of voluntary associations. A German poet has said, "Divide the thunder into single notes, and it becomes a lullaby for children—but pour it forth in one quick peal, and the royal sound shakes the heavens."

I may not be able, perhaps, to remove every impediment that is placed before me, opposing my way like a mighty block of granite; but I go and station myself beside that rock, and I cry to every passenger that comes along—"Help! help! help!" and one tries, and another tries, and a third, and a fourth, till at last we succeed in putting the lever below the impediment, and it is rolled away to the other side, and I gladly and willingly pursue my way to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

I hasten to a conclusion. If, in the two addresses I have now delivered, I have been the honoured instrument in leading you to feel a deeper interest in a land that is afar off, where dwell a myriad multitude of human beings, every one of whom lives beneath the sceptre of a Christian monarch, and claims kindred and citizenship with a Christian people—if I have begotten in any minds a desire to become more thoroughly acquainted with the subject under discussion—if I have led any to perceive, at length, what they owe to India, what blessings they may bestow upon India, and what advantages they may reap in return for the benevolent efforts they put forth on behalf of India—if I have quickened any of you into a consciousness of your responsibility—your dread accountableness to the God of nations, for the manner in which your wide-spread territory in the East is governed—if I have assisted to roll away any of the mists of prejudice or ignorance—if I have succeeded in bringing nearer to your view, and nearer to your regards, a country and a people hitherto almost unnoticed in the dim distance—if you are reflecting upon the fact, that a country which is not too distant to be discovered,—not too distant to be made a mart for our merchandise, a home for our children, and a field for our warriors—not too distant to be spoiled, subjugated, and enslaved,—is not, ought not to be too distant to be pitied, protected, and blest: if in the bosoms of those in this assembly there are now rising feelings of patriotic shame, and Christian sympathy, and generous resolution—if even now there be those present, who are ready to enlist with me in the great and good work of regenerating

India—then I have not laboured in vain, nor spent my strength for nought—then I am rewarded—richly rewarded for any exertions I have been privileged to make in this cause. Permit me to indulge the hope that it may be so : and receive my assurance that, while you are willing to cheer me on, I will not be found reluctant to toil—it will be my delight, as it will be my duty, publicly and privately, in season and out of season, to co-operate with you in working out the temporal deliverance of an injured people—while we look with humble confidence to Him who is the friend of the desolate and afflicted, and the patron of every good and righteous enterprise. I have done.

END OF THE SECOND LECTURE.

THIRD LECTURE.

England's Duties towards India—India has great Natural Capabilities—which are neglected—American Slavery fostered by England's Policy towards India—Statistics of Cotton in England—Manchester as it was—Manchester as it is—Rapid Progress of Cotton Planting in America—Precarious Nature of the Supply from America—Recent Increase of Cotton Cultivation in India—The Dacca Muslins—India's Capabilities for Growing Cotton—Demand for British Manufactures in India—Appeal to the British People on behalf of the People of India.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In former lectures I have solicited your attention to the present actual condition of the native population of British India; and I have insisted upon the duty of a benevolent interference to improve both their character and their circumstances. I conceive it our duty to interpose between the natives of India and that destiny which seems to await them, unless there is some prompt and vigorous interposition on the part of this nation. This great duty is founded upon many important considerations, and among the rest upon the following: we are their rulers, and we ought never to forget our political relation to that country. It is a conquered country; their fate is in our hands. Their government is absolute and arbitrary; although the population of that empire amounts to one hundred millions, they possess not the privilege of representation—they have no voice in the appointment of their government; they can exercise no controul over the arrangements under which they live; they are ruled on the spot by six hundred and seventy-four civil functionaries, and by an army of two hundred thousand men, all of them officered by Europeans. We live among them as among a conquered people; we are sojourners there; our tents are pitched to-day, and struck tomorrow. We are merely encamped in their midst. It was the expression of an eminent statesman, long connected with the administration of affairs in India, that we had obtained the country by the sword, and that we must continue to rule it by the sword, and to keep it by the sword. But the admission of this fact does not at all impair our obligation to seek the good of that people. On the contrary, it increases our obligation, inasmuch as having no share in their own affairs—not appointing their own government—having no direct or indirect controul over the character of the laws, to which they are obliged to yield submission—the obligation upon us is the more heavy and imperative, to see that the laws and institutions which are given to that country are founded upon justice, and are administered with mildness and impartiality. Then

again, the crying necessities of that people impose upon us an obligation to render them relief, and to render that relief promptly and efficiently. I have called your attention to the poverty of the people, especially to the famines that are periodically desolating that fertile region. On a former evening, I endeavoured to draw a picture of the scenes of misery and starvation presented in that country during the previous year; and since that occasion my eye has fallen on the following fact:—The English magistrate at Agra, the capital of North Bengal, states in his official return (*Bombay Times*, June, 1839), that “one hundred and forty-four children have been carried off by wolves, subsequent to the famine,” so completely had the famine annihilated every thing eatable in the country, but the children that were left to the survivors. Our ability to modify or ameliorate the character of the Indian government, and to improve the condition of that unhappy people, imposes upon us the most sacred obligation to interfere on their behalf. I have on other occasions spoken of the constitution of the East India Company: I have shown you that the people of this kingdom have handed over, to a joint stock company, the government of a hundred millions of human beings: I have endeavoured to demonstrate that they have not by so doing given up their power to control the East India Company; on the contrary, they have created an obligation—an obligation most solemn—which at their peril they lose sight of, to look most strictly and unceasingly into the manner in which that joint stock company administers the affairs of India, lest, in the language of the celebrated Edmund Burke, the blood of millions be required at their hands, and it be found that they have bartered away, for the base consideration of money, the liberties and happiness of countless millions of the human race. I have shown you that you are authorized to interfere; that you have a constant right of appeal to the imperial parliament; that there is in that omnipotent body an abiding power to make laws for India, or to repeal laws, or to modify laws, as though no charter act had ever been granted to the East India Company; and that you are not therefore impertinently, and certainly not unnecessarily, interfering in the affairs of that distant empire, when you meet, as you now meet, in public meetings for the purpose of considering the condition of that country, and of recommending to the legislature of your native land the exercise of that power and that prerogative, which they never have given up, which they never can give up, and which they cannot lose sight of, without disgrace to themselves, and serious disaster to the people so neglected.

Our duty, too, rests upon another foundation—our *obligations* to India. Owe we nothing to that country? Is it nothing to have drawn from that country, during fifty years, the almost incredible sum of a thousand millions sterling? Is it nothing to have an empire, as large as Europe, which costs us nothing? The army sustained by the natives—every salary paid by them—every pension charged upon them—every allowance and assignment and dividend drawn from the hard earnings of an impoverished and all but exhausted people? Then consider the money annually remitted to this country. Between two and three millions are drawn, and publicly accounted for, and appropriated to the division of dividends among the proprietors, to the payment of salaries here, and the paying off the interest of an accumulated debt. Then consider the posts of honor, trust, and emolument,

that have to be filled by persons who are drafted from this country to that, and who return, by and by, like birds of prey and of passage, fattened by the riches of India, to repose here in independence and wealth, far from the land in which they have made their riches ! Then again, think of the bravery of the people of India, displayed through a long series of years, and in the midst of most trying and critical circumstances, and invariably on our behalf. We have won India, not by the prowess of British arms alone—not by British discipline and British valour alone ; it has been the virtue, the valour, the constancy, the loyalty, aye, and the confidence and affection of the people, the children of India, that have won so many laurels upon the plains of Hindostan. These things should never be forgotten ; and while we remember what we owe to India, and the debt we are every day contracting, our sense of duty will be quickened, and we shall reproach ourselves for having done so little for a people who have done so much for us. I urge to the discharge of this duty, upon this ground among others, that the natives of India are an *injured* people. The Rev. Dr. Duff (than whom there is not a more sincere lover of India—whose life, whether he traverses this country to awaken public feeling, or labours in India itself, is devoted to the good of India) made use of the following words before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland the year before last :—

“ Who can obliterate the long, black catalogue of treachery and plunder, devastation and death, that swells the revolting narrative of many of our earlier conquests ? Ah ! there have been deeds perpetrated by the sons of Britain on the plains of Hindostan,—deeds that, in number, cannot be reckoned up in order,—deeds of unutterable infamy,—deeds that are engraven in characters of blood in the ineffaceable pages of history,—aye, and registered, as an eternal memorial against us, in the book of God’s remembrance ! ”

I have not, as you will bear me witness, during the two past lectures, endeavoured to degrade the East India Company in your eyes, nor will it be my object to-night to do so. I have not occupied your time in dragging to light the deeds of darkness that have been perpetrated in India ; I have not spoken of broken treaties, of forgotten pledges, of immolated princes and princesses, of wholesale and stupendous robberies that have rendered those who have been guilty of them infamous for ever. No : I have granted, as I do grant, that the East India Company *may* be influenced by good intentions ; that they may desire the welfare of India ; nay more, that they may devote themselves to the benefit of India. I will grant you that they may be the wisest, the justest, the most benevolent men that you can select from the body politic, to govern India ; and when I have granted you all this—and remember that they are but men ; that they live many thousands of miles from the country which they govern ; that their time is much occupied with home affairs—when I remember these things, I feel that we should be guilty of a gross and criminal dereliction of duty, did we forget India when we appointed these men its governors ; did we not exercise a sleepless vigilance over all the affairs of a country which we claim as our own. Let it be remembered, in connexion with this part of the subject, that they justly complain we have done them much injury by the destruction of their manufactures—that we have undersold them in their own markets ; and that thousands and tens of thousands of individuals, who were once accustomed to get their bread, and enough of it, by honest industry, are now reduced to indigence and

mendicancy, by the successful competition of our manufactures exported from this country, and carried into those markets which they once supplied. I blame not this country for this : there is no occasion to lament it for the future, if we will be just to that land. Summon up the spirit that is there ; release them from the tyranny to which they are now subjected ; send them into a field uncursed by a ruinous land-tax, and allow them to sit under their own vine and fig tree, none daring to make them afraid : then, while they reap a bountiful harvest, and send it to our shores, and are thereby made rich, we will send them back the vegetable substance they have reared, in the shape of manufactured articles, and thus our advantages shall be reciprocal, and our joy shall be one.

I infer our duty to interfere, from our *ability* to do them good. Were our tears hopeless ones—were our regrets all vain—I might be accused of wasting your time ; and even then I should be far better occupied than in discoursing upon the thousand and one other topics that are aloof from our every day interests, and which come not home to the affections ; the discussion of which does not edify the moral feelings ; but happily we are able to do them good ; we can do them good, by adopting liberal and just commercial principles ; we can do them good, by the exercise of the omnipotent political power which heaven permits us to exercise, on their behalf ; we can do them good, by presenting them with that knowledge which they require, and by humbling ourselves to receive from them that knowledge which, sunken as they are, they are not impotent to give us. We can give them institutions that they need—and, by doing this, we can display at once our power and our mercy—and our power *in* our mercy ; and preserve a kingdom by kindness which we are likely to lose by coercion. I wish I could impress this upon my countrymen—would that I could make them feel at once their duty to do good to India, and their ability, which creates their duty.

“ Britain ! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend,
On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend.
High Arbitress ! to thee her hopes are given,
Sole pledge of bliss, and delegate of Heaven ;
In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,
Or big with blessings, or o'ercast with woes ;
And future ages shall thy mandate keep,
Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.
Oh ! to thy god-like destiny arise !
Awake and meet the purpose of the skies !
Wide as thy sceptre waves, let India learn,
What virtues round the shrine of empire burn.”

Having said so much in reference to our duty in this matter, I proceed to consider the advantages to be derived from pursuing the course which our duty prescribes. I know that many who hear me will think that this is a needless undertaking. They know, they feel that to do right is to do well—that honesty is the best policy—that an adherence to the laws of nature in trade and in commerce, as well as in other matters, is always the safest, the wisest, and the best course. But still, it may be advantageous to discuss this principle in detail ; to show that our *duty* and our *interest* go hand in hand on this question—that they are interwoven and inseparable—that to bless India is to enrich, to strengthen, to exalt ourselves—that, if in this field we scatter, we shall assuredly increase—that we shall realize the truth of that

assurance given us in the inspired page, that "it is *more* blessed to give than to receive." My proposition, then, is this, that the performance of our duty to India is coincident with the advancement, in the most true and liberal sense of that word, of the manufacturing and commercial interests of our common country; and that were we prosecuting in an enlightened manner those interests, we should be promoting immeasurably the welfare of the people of India. In other words, to remove the hindrances to the prosperity of the people of India, is to open a limitless field for honorable and profitable commercial intercourse. Revive the drooping energies of a hundred millions of fellow-subjects, dispel the enchantment which reigns over India, banish the evil spirits of monopoly and prejudice, and lo! a new world appears; a world so vast, so rich, so capable of receiving all that you require from them, or can bestow upon them, that were you forsaken of, and excluded from, all other nations besides, you would have an exhaustless supply of foreign merchandise, and an ever increasing market for home manufactures.

Political justice to India is commercial justice to England. The prosperity of India and the prosperity of England are one and indissoluble; the day that witnesses India well governed, her people happy, her agriculturists well employed, the fruits of her soil reaped, her vast resources developed, that day beholds England on the proudest summit of her greatness as a manufacturing and commercial nation.

I have said that India is capable of producing almost every article of tropical growth; that labour is cheaper in India than in any other part of the world; that the country is accessible; that it is now brought near by means of communication which enable the merchant to send his despatches and receive his answers within four months, and that the physical and moral elevation of the immense population of India depends mainly upon the amount of encouragement given to their agricultural pursuits. Having said this, let us see what proportion of tropical produce brought into this country, and required by this country, is derived from India; and much more would be required and consumed, were the produce cheaper, as it will be, when justice shall be done to India. I am about to quote a statement made by Mr. Montgomery Martin, in the Court of the East India proprietors, a short time ago—a statement, the accuracy of which has not been impugned:—

" QUANTITY AND VALUE OF ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO ENGLAND, THE
WHOLE OF WHICH MAY BE OBTAINED FROM BRITISH INDIA.

1. Sugar, 4,500,000 cwt., at 20s. per cwt.	£4,500,000
2. Molasses, 500,000 cwt.s. at 10s. per cwt.	250,000
3. Rum, 5,000,000 gallons, at 1s. per gallon	250,000
4. Coffee, 40,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb.	1,000,000
5. Tea, 40,000,000 lbs., at 1s. per lb.	2,000,000
6. Cocoa, 3,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb.	75,000
7. Tobacco, 50,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb.	1,250,000
8. Cotton, 400,000,000 lbs., at 6d. per lb.	10,000,000
9. Indigo, 7,000,000 lbs., at 3s. 6d. per lb.	1,225,000
10. Saltpetre, 300,000 cwt.s., at 20s. per cwt.	300,000
11. Rice, 300,000 cwt.s., at 10s. per cwt.	150,000
12. Pepper, 7,000,000 lbs., at 4d. per lb.	125,000
13. Cinnamon and Cassia, 1,500,000 lbs., at 6s. per lb.	450,000
14. Ginger, 25,000 cwt.s., at 20s. per cwt.	25,000
15. Spices (general), official value	250,000
16. Cochineal, 600,000 lbs., at 5s. per lb.	150,000
17. Wool, 60,000,000 lbs., at 1s. per lb.	3,000,000

18. Hemp and Flax, 2,000,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt.	2,000,000
19. Vegetable Oils, 6,000,000 gallons, at 1s. per gallon	300,000
20. Hides, 400,000 cwts., at 36s. per cwt.	720,000
21. Skins, untaanned or dressed, No. 4,000,000, at 6d. each	100,000
22. Linseed, 3,500,000 bushels, at 30s. per qr.	600,000
23. Tallow, 1,000,000 cwts., at 20s. per cwt.	1,000,000
24. Dye Woods, &c., official value	500,000
25. Drugs and Gums, ditto	500,000
26. Sundries	1,000,000

Total.....£34,720,000

The total value of these and other tropical productions imported is, you perceive, £34,720,000, of which we receive from India to the value of £4,500,000. Now, I heard it stated in the Court of Proprietors, that all of these articles could be obtained of first-rate quality, and to an indefinite extent from India, and the statement was not denied by any individual in the Court, although the principal part of the directors, and a large number of the proprietors, were present. Now, let us see what proportion is obtained from British India.

" Of 40,500,000 cwts. of sugar imported into the United Kingdom, British India, including Ceylon, contributes but 200,000 cwts., not half the quantity which the small island of Mauritius exports, and only equal in quantity to the exports of St. Vincent, which is but 18 miles long by 10 broad.

" Of 500,000 cwts. molasses imported, British India and Ceylon send but 30 cwts.

" Of 5,000,000 gallons of rum imported, British India and Ceylon contribute 40,000 gallons.

" Of 40,000,000 lbs. of coffee, British India and Ceylon send but 9,000,000 lbs.

" Of 400,000,000 lbs. of cotton, British India and Ceylon send but 50,000,000 lbs.

" Of 50,000,000 lbs. tobacco, British India and Ceylon send but 50,000 lbs.

" Of 40,000,000 lbs. tea, British India sends a few hundred weight, although the leaf grows spontaneously, and may be cultivated to any extent.

" Of 3,000,000 lbs. of cocoa, British India sends none to England.

" Of 6,000,000 lbs. of silk, British India sends 1,500,000 lbs., and that exportation is owing to the East India Company.

" Of 60,000,000 lbs. of sheep's wool, British India sends but 1,000,000 lbs.

" Of 2,000,000 cwts. of flax and hemp, British India sends but 20,000 cwts.

" Of 3,500,000 bushels of linseed, British India sends but 300,000 bushels, although it is cheaper and better in Hindostan than in any other part of the world.

" Of 6,000,000 gallons vegetable oils, British India sends but 120,000 gallons.

" Of 400,000 cwts. of hides, British India sends but 40,000 cwts.

" Of 1,000,000 cwts. of tallow, British India sends only 500 cwts.

" Of 600,000 lbs. of cochineal, British India sends but 200 lbs.

" Of 14,000 loads of the celebrated teak wood which England imports, British India, which abounds with it, sends but 300 loads; the remainder is furnished by the negroes of Western Africa."

From a statement recently drawn up, and approaching, I believe, to accuracy, it appears, that in consequence of neglecting India and preferring other parts of the world, in almost all of which labour is obtained from slaves, we entail upon ourselves, in the shape of an extra cost, the following loss, viz :—

" On Sugar	£5,656,800
" Cotton	8,151,679
" Silk	1,800,000
" Rum	249,353
" Coffee	774,998
" Tobacco	1,040,625
" Linseed	514,286
" Flax	2,216,160

£20,403,901

Exclusive of Rice, Indigo, Oils, Dyes, Hemp, Drugs, &c

Let us now see the extent to which our neglect of India encourages the accursed traffic in human beings. From the same paper, which is entitled,

"MANNER IN WHICH IS EXPENDED MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF THE ABOVE SUM OF £20,433,901, LEVIED ANNUALLY UPON THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN, OR, REASONS WHY IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY PERSON IN THE UNITED KINGDOM TO ESPOUSE THE CAUSE OF INDIA,"

I take the following facts. Let them, I entreat you, sink deep into your memories, for they concern the honour of our country, and the freedom and happiness of mankind :—

" It is now proved that 375,000 Africans are annually sacrificed, as follows :—

" Perish in the passage	37,500
Die from seizure, march, detention, &c. 187,500	
Survive, and are sold in the Slave States	
and Colonies of America, &c.	150,000
At 150 Dollars a head ...	22,500,000 Dollars
At 4s. 6d. to the dollar, £5,062,500	

" This fact is attested by two testimonials published by Mr. Fowell Buxton, one, a letter to himself, dated May, 1838, from Governor Maclean, of Cape Coast, stating that the net profit upon a slave is from 150 to 200 dollars, when sold in Cuba and the Brazils; the other, the calculation of the Sierra Leone Commissioners, who give for an outlay of 100 dollars, a return of 180.—*Buxton on the Slave Trade*, pp. 89 and 90.

" The trade yields, therefore, a profit so enormous as to make it morally certain that, so long as this profit can be got, no power on earth will put down the traffic; nor can any princes or states, however well intentioned, enforce slave treaties.

" East India free labour costs 3d. a day; African slave labour 2s. The fund for paying slave labour, and the fund required for buying slaves must, it is evident, be the money paid for slave-grown produce. This fund is mainly derived, *directly and indirectly*, from the excess of price paid by Great Britain to the slave cotton growers of America for their cotton, amounting, as shown above, to £8,151,679
To the slave tobacco growers, for their tobacco 1,040,625
To the slave coffee growers, for their coffee 771,998
Add annual costs, in money only, of the squadron, fruitlessly employed on the slave coasts* 650,000

£10,617,302

" But cotton in the United States being more profitable than sugar, the United States resort to Cuba and the Brazils for one-half of the sugar required for the population. This quantity now amounts to about 50,000 tons annually, costing, at £12 a ton £2,150,000

" As the wants of America will keep pace with her doubling population, and as she will never want the means of paying for their supply with the money she is sure of receiving from Great Britain for her cotton, it results that a constant, regular, and rapidly-increasing demand is created for the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and the Brazils; and with this demand, a regularly increasing demand for more slaves, by whose labour alone the sugar required can there be grown. Hence the vast increase of the slave trade, proved to have taken place of late years, and hence the known aggravated condition of the slave."

So much for our neglect of India! The truth of the statements now made might, I believe, be fully verified by a careful enquiry into the capacity of India, and the cost of free labour in that country. Hereafter, I shall make the *anti-slavery aspect of the British India ques-*

* " Mr. M'Queen rates the expense connected with the suppression of the slave trade as between £600,000 or £700,000 per annum to this country, and he calculates that the total expense since 1808 exceeds £20,000,000."

tion the exclusive topic of a lecture. You see, however, that, according to the calculations I have quoted, from which you may make any fair deduction, that we are amongst the most powerful and munificent upholders of slavery and the slave trade. Is it not humiliating, is it not deeply distressing to reflect, that so large an amount of the money, mechanical skill, physical energy, and manufacturing enterprize of Great Britain, are employed in the support of systems so utterly opposed to the precepts of Christianity, and to the laws, the constitution, and the genius of the people of this country? In vain the spirit of philanthropy is displayed, while the principles of our commerce thus stand in an antagonist position. Could we get our commerce placed upon sound principles—could we get men to look to Africa, where the free negro would grow cotton and sugar upon his native soil, instead of to America, where the negro toils in slavery, upon a land to which he is a stranger, and amongst a people by whom he is abhorred—or, could we get the attention of our merchants turned to the plains of India, and the banks of the Ganges, where men, by millions, wait to be employed in the grateful task of raising from a fertile soil those fruits of a tropical climate which have become articles of necessity amongst us, we should effect, in the condition of millions of men in three quarters of the globe, one of the most happy and glorious revolutions ever witnessed in the history of the species. O, that men would cease to act on false doctrines! that they would suffer the voice of mercy to call them back to the simple and life-giving principles of a political economy, founded upon a just acquaintance with the constitution of man, and the great laws which should regulate commercial intercourse! Now, if it be true that we lose twenty millions of money annually by consuming the produce of other countries, in preference to the produce of India, then we annually sacrifice more than the whole revenue derived from India; for, by the last returns, it appears that their gross revenue is only eighteen millions, fifty-eight thousand four hundred and twelve pounds sterling. Then, again, look at the shipping of England; will it be believed that, trading with that immense country during the year 1838, there were only 321 ships—I speak of this country and India; while at the port of Stockton-on-Tees, the amount of shipping in the same year amounted to 8027! Is there a parallel to this folly, this infatuation, this wickedness, in the world? If these facts were not demonstrable by figures, would it be believed that we were shutting our eyes all the day long to the value of this country, not only in a commercial, but in a moral point of view; and fostering, at the expense of millions of pounds per annum, the vilest and the most oppressive system of slavery that ever was perpetrated under the sun? Why should we prefer New Orleans to Bombay? Are the merchants so much more honourable? Is their cotton so much more pure? Does it come to us unstained? In one sense it may; but in another sense it comes to us crimsoned with the blood of two millions of slaves! Why should we prefer Brazil to Madras or Bengal—our own territories? Is sugar so much better coming from the Spanish islands, where the masters are tyrants, and the people slaves, than coming from our own territories, grown and cultivated by millions of free-men? Sirs, the misery entailed, the crime committed, the extent to which righteous principles are violated by our present system, cannot be computed. I come, however, to that branch of the subject more interesting to the public of this most populous and

wealthy district, because connected with the manufacture for which it is so widely celebrated.

The question—Can India supply this country with the cotton of commerce? is one of great importance. That it has fallen to my lot to discuss this subject in this assembly I regret, but I will do my best to give an answer to the question.

I shall be satisfied, if I find the attention now being bestowed upon this subject followed by enquiries; I shall be satisfied if I break up the fallow ground, if I thaw the frost of indifference, if I make men look one another in the face to-morrow on the exchange, and ask, “Why do we not obtain our cotton from India?” When this shall be done, when the men of this great city shall, at the corners of the streets, and in their counting-rooms, and on the exchange, begin to discuss this question, and look with eyes but half open to the Indian part of the question, I fear not the result; for very soon we shall find that while, by our capital, we have made America the greatest but the guiltiest of nations; by a transfer of that capital to India, we should make India not the guiltiest but the most happy, and one at least of the greatest nations.

A constant and sufficient supply of the raw material is essential not only to the prosperity of the people of this neighbourhood, but to the prosperity of the country.

I am indebted to an accurate and interesting work just published, entitled, “Manchester as it is,” for the following valuable particulars respecting the present magnitude of the cotton trade:—

The consumption of cotton in Great Britain during 1838, was four hundred and sixty thousand millions of pounds weight. The following will show the cost of producing the cotton manufactures of the country:—

“Cost of raw material	£19,604,166
313,701 Spinners, average wages 10s. 5½d. per week.....	8,639,593
90,000 Power-loom Weavers, average wages 12s. 7d. per week ...	2,916,000
316,500 Hands employed in the bobbinet and hosiery trade	1,650,000
360,000 Printers, average wages 10s. per week	9,360,000
280,000 Hand-loom Weavers, average wages 12s. per week.....	8,596,000
Machinery, interest on capital, &c.	12,087,500
 Total cost, about	 £62,903,259
 Total number of persons employed, about	 1,500,000

It may not be uninteresting to look back a few years, and mark the rise of this trade which has now reached so vast an extent. I am indebted to a considerable extent to a very excellent work on the history of the cotton manufacture of Great Britain, a work of great industry, profound research, and most excellent arrangement, by Edward Baines, jun. Esq. of Leeds. It will be interesting to those who wish to examine this subject, to know that in that work is contained a great amount of useful historical and statistical information. “England,” says Mr. Baines, “was among the latest of all countries to receive the cotton manufacture. This species of industry was known in each of the other quarters of the globe earlier than in Europe; and in Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, and Turkey, before it was introduced into England.

“The woollen and linen manufactures have existed in this country from a very early period, and both of them were carried on in Lancashire before the cotton manufacture, for which they prepared the way.

England has been immemorially famous for its wool, of which it produced abundance before any woollens, except of the coarsest kind, were made here ; the wool was then chiefly exported to Flanders, where that manufacture was in an extremely flourishing state. Manchester was the seat of the woollen manufacture as early as the reign of Edward II."

Then, in reference to the circumstance of their being called cottons, he says—" The application of the term ' cottons' to a woollen manufacture is also expressly mentioned by Camden, who, speaking of Manchester in 1590, says, " This town excels the towns immediately around it in handsomeness, populousness, woollen manufacture, market-place, church, and college; but did much more excel them in the last age, as well by the glory of its woollen cloths, which they call Manchester cottons, as by the privilege of sanctuary, which the authority of parliament, under Henry VIII. transferred to Chester." " Then he says—" It is not a little singular that a manufacture, destined afterwards to eclipse not merely ' the glory' of the old ' Manchester cottons,' but that of all other manufactures, should thus have existed in name long before it existed at all in fact. It has been conjectured, that the word ' cottons' was a corruption of ' coatings'; but it is very evident that the name was adopted from foreign cottons, which, being fustians and other heavy goods, were imitated in woollen by our manufacturers." It is manifest, says Mr. Baines, that, in 1641, the cotton manufacture had become well established in Manchester. The spread of the manufacture, however, does not appear to have been very rapid.

In the present day, when "*Manchester men*" are regarded as merchant princes, it is amusing to look back to the middle of the 17th century, when a gang of Manchester chapmen used to take their merchandise upon pack horses, and make a circuit of the surrounding towns, bringing home sheep's wool for the makers of worsted yarn, and, when at home, participating in the ordinary labours of their servants.

Towards the latter end of the 17th century, and at the beginning of the 18th, there were considerable importations of Indian cotton goods, calicoes, muslins, and chintzes, and the consequence was a loud outcry amongst manufacturers, which prevailed with parliament to exclude them by heavy penalties. You will pardon me, perhaps, if I illustrate the spirit of this period by a reference to some curious extracts, from pamphlets published at the time, and furnished by Mr. Baines. This part of the lecture is not without its moral.

In 1678, a pamphlet was issued under the title of "The Ancient Trades decayed and revived again." Hear how the author weeps over the fallen fortunes of woollen fabrics in this country ! On page 77, this author says :—

" This trade (the woollen) is very much hindered by our own people, who do wear many foreign commodities instead of our own, as may be instanced in many particulars, viz. :—instead of green sey, that was wont to be used for children's frocks, is now used painted and India-stained and striped calico; and instead of a perpetuana or shalloon to lyne men's coats with, is used sometimes a glazed calico, which in the whole is not above twelve-pence cheaper, and abundantly worse. And sometimes is used a Bangale, that is brought from India, both for lynings to coats, and for petticoats too; yet our English ware is better and cheaper than this, only it is thinner for the summer. To remedy this, it would be necessary to lay a very high impost upon all such commodities, as these are, and that no calicoes or other sort of linen be suffered to be glazed."

The celebrated De Foe, the immortalised author of " Robinson

Crusoe," it appears, joined in the general hue-and-cry against the cotton goods of India. Hear his pathetic strains :—

" The general fansie of the people runs upon East India goods to that degree, that the chints and painted calicoes, which before were only made use of for carpets, quilts, &c. and to clothe children and ordinary people, became now the dress of our ladies ; and such is the power of a mode as we saw our persons of quality dressed in India carpets, which, but a few years before, their chambermaids would have thought too ordinary for them. The chints was advanced from lying upon their floors to their backs—from the foot-cloth to the petticoat ; and even the queen herself, at this time, was pleased to appear in China and Japan ; I mean China silks and calico. Nor was this all ; but it crept into our houses, our closets, and bedchambers ; curtains, cushions, chairs, and at last beds themselves, were nothing but calicoes or Indian stuffs : and, in short, almost every thing that used to be made of wool or silk, relating either to the dress of women or the furniture of our houses, was supplied by the Indian trade."

Another writer, the author of a volume entitled " A Plan of the English Commerce," ascribes the *evil* to a cause for which he candidly acknowledges he knows no remedy, namely, the will of the ladies. You will perceive, my friends, when I read the next extract, how possible it is, in more senses than one, to be under petticoat government :—

" Two things amongst us (says this heart-broken man) are ungovernable. our passions and our fashions. Should I ask the ladies whether they would dress by law, or clothe by act of parliament, they would ask me whether they were to be statute fools, and to be made pageants and pictures of ? Whether the sex was to be set up for our jest, and the parliament had nothing to do but make Indian queens of them ? That they claim English liberty as well as the men ; and as they expect to do what they please, and say what they please, so they will wear what they please, and dress how they please. It is true that the liberty of the ladies, their passion for their fashion, has been frequently injurious to the manufacturers of England, and is still so in some cases ; but I do not see so easy a remedy for that as some other things of the like nature."

A century, however, has wrought a marvellous revolution ; it has turned the tables upon the oriental. Now, instead of ruining our manufacturers by the introduction of his cheap and exquisitely beautiful fabrics, we are bringing his to a perpetual end by the exportation of our cotton piece goods and muslins, with which all competition of manual labour is utterly vain. It is not my intention to describe the process by which this revolution has been brought about ; that would take me back to the commencement of the era of invention, and I should have to talk upon subjects with which I am not familiar. I thought, however, that a contrast, however brief and imperfect, of the present state of the trade with the trade in the seventeenth century might be appropriate. In 1697, the amount of cotton wool imported was 1,976,359lbs. The official value of cotton goods of all kinds exported during the year was the magnificent amount of £5,915. In 1764, the importation of cotton had increased to 3,870,392lbs., and the exportation of cotton goods to £200,354 sterling. What was the importation of cotton in 1838 ? As I have told you, 460 millions of lbs. weight ; and the exportation of manufactured cotton goods amounted to £16,700,468 ; of cotton yarns, to 7,430,582 ; making the sum total of declared value, £24,131,050. It may not be amiss to discriminate between the countries from which this cotton was imported :—America sent upwards of 800,000 bales per annum ; Brazil, upwards of 100,000 bales ; the East Indies, 140,000 ; Egypt, 40,000 ; and other places 30,000 ; making a sum total of 1,100,000 bales of cotton, of 300 or rather 400lbs. per bale. According to Mr. Armstrong's tables, I

find the imports of cotton in 1837 were, from America, 844,068 bales; Brazil, 116,256; East India, 145,105; Egypt, 39,234; and other sorts, 29,451; making a total of 1,174,114 bales.

Now, look back for a moment. In 1784, cotton from America was unknown. During that year an American vessel came into the port of Liverpool, and landed eight bags of cotton, calling it American cotton, and they were seized; it being utterly incredible that America should have sent cotton to this country; but, in 1834, just fifty years afterwards, we received from that same country 731,456 bales. You will perceive, then, that a large portion of our supply is from America, either from the United States or from Brazil. The East Indies do not send much more than Brazil, and only one-third as much as the United States of America. Now you well know how cotton is produced in the United States; that some six or seven hundred thousand human beings are kept constantly at work to grow it; and that they are slaves in the worst and most absolute sense of the word; that, to continue this trade, Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, are great slave-rearing states; and there is reason to believe, that, were it not for the encouragement given to the cultivation of this branch of industry by the very large and increasing demand of this country, and the extraordinary prices which our manufacturers are compelled to pay, slavery would decline, and soon become utterly extinct, throughout the whole of the United States of America. The cotton of Brazil is produced in precisely the same way. The empire of Brazil contains more than two millions of slaves, and the chief part of the slave trade between Africa and the continent of America is carried on with Brazil, the slaves being boldly imported into the commercial capital, Rio Janeiro. I, sirs, am not jealous of the greatness of America. God grant that she may remain great! I only wish that she may be as good as she is great; I only wish that her mercy may be commensurate with her power; I ask no more, than that she take her foot from the necks of her fellow-citizens; that she open her prison doors, and let the captives go free; that she reap her harvest, not by forced and uncompensated labour, but through the willing industry of remunerated men. Let her but free her slaves, and then welcome her cotton! welcome every unstained production that can be sent to us from the four quarters of the globe! Here we stand, in the centre of the ocean, and as freely as that ocean beats upon our shores, as freely as yonder fleecy clouds glide over our green country, as freely as the winds blow, as free as God is bountiful to all, and makes mutual interchange and mutual dependence the laws by which he governs this universe, so free do I desire the trade of America, and the trade of all other countries with this country to be. I only ask if the principles of their trade be righteous; and, if they be, God speed their commerce, and open wide, for ever, be our ports!

We are seeking, not only the improvement of India—our primary end—but the exaltation and prosperity of our country, by increasing its commercial intercourse with one of the most rich and promising portions of the earth. If, therefore, you aid this society to diffuse its information through the length and breadth of the land; if you aid me, as the organ of the British India Association, to bring out all the facts connected with this great question, whether they bear upon the institutions, the revenue, or the fiscal regulations of the country, the character of the people, or the peculiar constitution of their government, the time will come when the veil will be withdrawn which has

hitherto shrouded this mighty and matchless country from our eyes. We shall look to wonder, and wonder to admirer, and love will succeed to admiration ; and while we are thus filled with equal surprise and gladness at the discoveries we shall be sure to make, we shall avail ourselves, by sound and practical measures, of the advantages thus presented ; and, while we are raising the head of the neglected Hindoo, we shall be making busy the hands, and full the pockets, and cheerful the countenances of our artizans at home. This is the cause of the philanthropist, of the capitalist, of the mariner, of the man who loves the gospel which has blessed his own shores ; and, in proportion as we enter into the spirit of this cause, in precisely that proportion will other great ends be accomplished.

Having said so much, ladies and gentlemen, respecting the importance of the cotton manufactures of our country, you will have already perceived that a constant, a certain, a sufficient, a cheap supply of raw cotton must be a matter deserving the most earnest consideration. Now, we are certainly not at this moment in circumstances the most comfortable and secure with regard to our supply of cotton. Unfavourable winds may stagnate the trade of this district. A war between the two countries, which Heaven avert ! but which is within the bounds of possibility ; for civil and polished and christian nations have gone to war, and even America and England have been at war—I trust for the last time—but, sirs, as it is a possible thing, so it is one of those contingencies which the wise man will contemplate, however remote and improbable : a war, then, might cut off our supplies. Then, as I said before, stagnation ; then starvation ; then discontent ; then—that which I will not anticipate ; which I will not describe ; hoping and believing that the wisdom, and the patriotism, and the energy of this country will be early enlisted in the cause I now advocate, and avert those catastrophes, which are too gloomy to be brought near and contemplated closely to-night. Then, again, our supply of cotton is dependent upon the forced industry, and good conduct, of whom ? Of some two millions and a half of slaves. And slaves have rebelled ; and, I doubt not, slaves will rebel again. And they may rebel in the United States of America. Even New Orleans may see the fires of insurrection lighted up around. Every American planter treads upon the bosom of a volcano ; and if there be, as there will be, an increase of light ; if the slaves of America apprehend and appreciate, as I believe they soon will, their inherent and indefeasible right to liberty ; their perfect equality, in the sight of Heaven, with the master who rules them ; the time may come when they may refuse to give the sweat of the brow, without the hire, of the labourer ; and the master may find, not the industrious slave watering with his tears, and fanning with his sighs, his cotton plantation ; but standing erect, the fire of manhood in his eyes, the love of liberty in his heart, and the weapon of death in his hand. And then, my friends, where will be your cotton ! Where then, your tall chimneys ? Where your untriring and unmurmuring machinery ? Where then, your busy population ? All, my friends, would then be dreariness and desolation ; and all would be attributable, not to the sterility of this earth, which God has blessed, and which, from nearly every rood and acre of her superficial extent, would give you the articles you require ; but the cause would be sought, and would be found, in your long-continued blindness to the capacity of your own varied and fertile territory in India, whose teeming population, and whose exhaustless soil would ever have given

enough and to spare. You are, then, at the mercy of the winds; you are at the mercy of the waves; you are at the mercy of the slaves, and you are also at the mercy of whom? of men far worse than slaves, at least in my humble opinion—the gambling, monopolising, busy, meddling, plotting, cotton speculators of America. Yes, you are at their mercy; they have harnessed you; they have put you to their car, and General George M'Duffie, whose fame I may have celebrated within these walls in days gone by—George M'Duffie, late Governor of South Carolina, the king of the nullifiers and the pet of the slave-holders, is the prime minister of the cotton confederacy of America, and is now dragging Manchester at his chariot wheels. Will you remain at the mercy of such circumstances? The waves you cannot control; you cannot say to them, as their Maker did, “Hitherto shall ye come, but no further;” but you may say to India, “Give us cotton;” and India will reply, “Cotton we will give you in abundance; and we will take from you all that ingenuity, directing machinery, can manufacture; we will clothe ourselves in your fine-spun cottons, while you take from us the produce of our rich and fertile fields.” Why, then, do you not do justice to other parts of the world? I will mention two facts, to show how soon cotton may be raised in countries where cotton was never raised before, or at least to any great extent. I am indebted to a friend who has travelled within the last few years in Egypt, for the following fact. In 1820, a solitary Frenchman in some part of Egypt dropped a cotton seed into his garden. Up came the cotton tree. What was the consequence? Attention was directed to the cultivation of the cotton tree, and in 1823, three years after, that same country produced and sold one hundred and fifty thousand bags of cotton. Take another fact. In the year 1830, there was a large trade in salt, between Bombay and the centre of the district of Berar, an extensive cotton growing district in India; and very large numbers of oxen were sent laden with salt, over a country four hundred and fifty, and five hundred miles in extent, into Berar, where they left the salt, and came back empty. Again they went, and again they came back empty. For years, and perhaps for ages, this trade had been going on, and the oxen had always returned empty. At last it occurred to the mind of a far-seeing man in Bombay, that peradventure, these same oxen that carried the salt to Berar might bring cotton out of Berar; and the very next year after this had passed through his mind, ten thousand loads of cotton were brought from Omrawuttee to Bombay; and, in 1836, no fewer than ninety thousand loads, of two hundred and forty pounds each, were thus brought out of the cotton district to the market of Bombay.

But, let us look a little more closely to British India, and ascertain, if we can, what prospect we have of obtaining cotton from that country. Do you ask, “Can India grow cotton?” Thousands of years unite to give you an answer, and that answer is “yes.” Three centuries and a half before the christian era, we find Arrian describing the East Indians as wearing garments made of a substance which grew upon trees, of a texture whiter and finer than flax; and we find Pliny and Strabo speaking of the trade in the plain and figured muslins and calicoes of India, carried on with Persia and Egypt. Between one and two hundred millions of human beings have been clothed in cotton in India, from the remotest period of antiquity; in cotton, the growth of their own soil.

General Briggs says :—

“ A Hindoo in comfortable circumstances requires at least two suits of clothes annually, containing fifteen yards of yard-wide muslin ; and the middle and lower classes, when in work and employ, nearly as much of coarse cloth. We may then calculate what quantity is required for clothing only ; but, when we add to this that *sheeting, towels, wrappers, quilts, wadding, carpets, curtains, blinds, canopies, and tents*, all of which are extensively employed in a tropical climate, and during eight months of constant sunshine and heat, together with what cotton is used for *stuffing pillows, furniture, beds*, and even for the making of *ropes*, we may imagine the enormous demand there is for the article ; though, unless it could be exhibited in a statistical shape, we really can have no definite idea of the magnitude of the supply of cotton which is required for India alone.”

The answer is thus given to the question, “ Can India grow cotton ? ” Nor is their skill in manufacturing the cotton less remarkable than the fertility of the soil, and the excellence of the raw material :—

“ The Indians,” says Mr. Baines, “ have, in all ages, maintained an unapproached and almost incredible perfection in their fabrics of cotton. Some of their muslins might be thought the work of fairies, or of insects, rather than of men.”

Tavernier, a merchant, as well as a traveller and a historian, speaks of the muslins of Calicut as so fine as hardly to be felt in the hand, and the thread, when spun, as scarcely discernible, and that the skin appeared as plainly through it as if quite naked. The late Rev. William Ward, the missionary to India, makes use of the following language in describing the Dacca muslins :—

“ At Shantee-pooree and Dhaka, muslins are made which sell at a hundred rupees a piece. The ingenuity of the Hindoos in this branch of manufacture is wonderful. Persons with whom I have conversed on this subject say, that at two places in Bengal, Sonar-ga and Vicrum-pooree, muslins are made by a few families so exceedingly fine, that four mouths are required to weave one piece, which sells at four or five hundred rupees. When this muslin is laid on the grass, and the dew has fallen upon it, it is no longer discernible.”

If I am not tiring your patience, I will read a short extract, describing the mode of manufacturing this muslin. It is thus minutely given by Mr. Walters :—

“ The division of labour was carried to a great extent in the manufacture of fine muslins. In spinning the very fine thread, more especially, a great degree of skill was attained. It was spun with the fingers on a tukwah, or fine steel spindle, by young women, who could only work during the early part of the morning, while the dew was on the ground ; for such was the extreme tenacity of the fibre, that it would not bear manipulation after sunrise. One ruttee of cotton could thus be spun into a thread eighty cubits long, which was sold by the spinners at one rupee eight annas per secca weight. The ruffooghurs, or darners, were also particularly skilful. They could remove an entire thread from a piece of muslin, and replace it by one of a finer texture. The cotton used for the finest thread was grown in the immediate neighbourhood of Dacca, more especially about Sunergond. Its fibre is too short, however, to admit of its being worked up by any except that most wonderful of all machines, the human hand. The art of making the very fine muslin fabrics is now lost, and pity it is that it should be so.”

On this part of my subject, I address myself more particularly to those who are concerned in manufacturing ; but, to those who are not, I would say that these facts are not less interesting to them ; for they are all full of the most instructive inferences, which I want those who know how to draw inferences to seek and to perceive. But I may go away from books, and appeal to the history and experience

of those who now hear me, especially those who are farther advanced in years, who can well remember and testify to the texture and durability of the cottons and muslins of India. That India can grow more than is necessary for her own consumption is proved, not only by a reference to ancient authorities, but by statistics of a very recent date. In 1818, India exported to England and China alone, very nearly one hundred and forty millions of lbs. of cotton. In 1836, the exports from the whole of India were about two hundred millions of lbs. More than the one-third of the arable land of India is unoccupied. The soil for the cultivation of the indigenous cotton is spread over about two hundred thousand square miles; in many parts, the population amounts to from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and eighty on the square mile; and the pay of a day labourer from one penny to three-pence per day. There are also soils adapted to the growth of all other kinds of cotton. The seed carried from Barbadoes has been cultivated with tolerable success. The Bourbon cotton has been found to flourish on the experimental farms in the neighbourhood of Bombay, and at Malwan on the western coast. The cottons of America have been tried on various parts of the Coromandel coast, and the result has been most favourable. The province of Tritchimopoly, which has refused to grow the indigenous cotton of the country, is now producing fine crops of New Orleans cotton. The Sea Island cotton has produced well in South Arcot. The cottons which have been grown on the western coast of the Malayan peninsula, and at Singapoore, have proved equal to the original growths of Pernambuco and Bourbon; while a sample from Sugar Island, close to the sea, resembled the true Sea Island so closely, that those who had been in the habit of using the latter article, declared the sample to be a very fine production. At Allahabad, Delhi, Hansi, and other parts of the northern provinces, where the soil is light and the climate dry, the New Orleans and upland Georgian cottons are thriving, and promise to yield equal to the parent stock.—Most of the information I have just given is derived from a very valuable pamphlet on cotton, by Major-General Briggs, who spent thirty-two years in India, traversed every part of the country, and made the soils and the cottons of the country his particular study. With regard to the capacity of India to produce cotton, General Briggs says:—

“ With respect to the means India possesses for growing cotton, it is necessary to consider the extent of the country, the nature of its soil, its vast population, the description of their clothing, and the purposes to which cotton is applied, before we can have any conception of the great capabilities it has of supplying not only England, but the whole world, if necessary.”

And again he says:—

“ We think enough has been said to show that there is neither want of cotton soil for the indigenous nor the American plant; and we may with confidence assert, as the knowledge of soils and climate becomes more and more studied and attended to, that India will prove capable of producing cotton of any quality, and to any extent.”

Take another authority, the Right Honourable Holt Mackenzie, a Company's servant in Bengal, who resided a very long time in India. This gentleman says:—

“ India would not be found wanting in any essential requisite for the production of the best cotton. The vast extent to which cotton has long been grown,

and the exquisite beauty of some of its manufactures, are only additional motives for prosecuting inquiry."

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce have reported to the London, East India, and China Associations, that excellent sugar, cotton equal to some of the finest kinds of American, and also raw silks, can be produced in the Bombay territory.

Dr. Spry, a good botanist, one of the Company's servants in Bengal, recently in London, stated before the Royal Asiatic Society :—

" It is certainly without a parallel in the annals of the world, that a country possessing such capabilities as India, should have been so long hermetically sealed against the enterprise of Britons, in order to prolong the abuses of patronage. Had the peninsula been open, we should not now be dependent upon America for raw cotton, nor would the country have been brought, as it was four years ago, to the very verge of bankruptcy and revolution, when the stock of cotton was not adequate to three weeks' consumption. To this astounding blunder the southern division of the United States owes its cotton plantations, and its rice fields, and also the blighting curse of slavery. Evidence confirms the fact, that cotton can be grown in India fully equal, or rather superior, to the bulk of American."

George Ashburner, Esq., in a paper read to the Royal Asiatic Society, says :—

" With proper management, we might reasonably expect to see the exports of the country, in this staple alone, swelling at the rate of one hundred thousand bales per annum, and amounting, probably, at no distant period, to a million of bales. And what would be the consequence in other respects? Besides benefitting the revenue, and improving the condition of the people of India, such a trade would give employment to a vast amount of British shipping (four millions of tons), at the same time that it created a greater demand for the manufactures of the mother country."

Dr. Falconer, superintendent of the Company's botanical garden at Saharampore, says :—

" The upland Georgia cotton would, undoubtedly, be most successful in the upper provinces, as it ripens its seed before the Bourbon cotton even flowers. The Egyptian cotton also seems likely to thrive."

Mr. Alexander Rogers, a gentleman who has spent a large portion of his life in India, and who is very extensively engaged as a merchant, says :—

" Late experiments have demonstrated that first-rate cotton can be produced in *any* quantity, cheaply, in India."

Kirkman Finlay, Esq., a high authority with gentlemen who sit on my right hand and on my left—one to whom India, and also the manufacturing interests of this country, owe much, and who has made this subject his study—has recently, in a communication which he made to the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, given the following opinion :—

" India is a country of such vast resources, with such abundance of soil adapted to the cultivation of cotton, such a variety of climate, and such an immense labouring population, that it appears, of all others, best fitted to become a cotton-growing country, and to send an article of the finest quality, and in the greatest abundance."

John Gladstone, Esq.—no mean authority in commercial matters, and who has also furnished a paper on the subject, says :—

"For the supply of the raw material we are almost wholly dependent on foreign countries, whilst we have and possess in the British dominions in India, resources—were they encouraged and made available—sufficient to supply all we require, and to an increased extent if demanded—resources that are within our influence and control, and where the only limit to the consumption of British manufactures is the ability of the natives to pay for them; whilst we possess at the same time the means to stimulate and increase our intercourse with safety and advantage to the empire at large."

Thomas Smith, Esq. who is not unknown to some of the gentlemen near me, bears testimony to the same effect. He says—

"That cotton of a very superior quality to the ordinary crop of India may be produced there, repeated evidence has been furnished by the fact, that for years past there have been occasional importations of small quantities grown from foreign seed, which have realised comparatively high prices, in some cases more than the price of good American."

Mr. Patrick, of the experimental farm at Akra, near Calcutta, in an official report which he has furnished on the subject, says:—

"I have no hesitation in saying, that the quality of the upland Georgian, grown at Akra, is fully equal, if not superior, to the best cotton of the same description grown in America. I had an excellent opportunity of forming a judgment of the comparative value of this cotton, having in the month of November received a quantity of what was called the very best upland Georgia cotton, direct from the United States, which was neither so fine in style, nor so good in general quality."

John Crawford, Esq., a high authority, says:—

"The soil and climate of India must not be blamed. They are equal in capacity to those of any other portion of the tropical world, and superior to the greater number."

Hear, too, what the *New York Circular* says—what the New York merchants think on this subject:—

"It is, however, advisable not to draw the cord too tight by these financial arrangements, [alluding to the plans in discussion for holding the coming crop of cotton, that find their birthplace in the brains of the confederated slave-holders of the southern states], lest by the attention of Great Britain being turned to the cultivation of cotton in India, *from which, doubtless, exhaustless supplies can be obtained*—we may be in danger of losing that market."

"Draw not the cord too tightly!" "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word." Ay; it is written by the New York merchants—"Draw not the cord too tight!" Give it but a screw or twist too much, and the eyes of Britain may be turned to India, where, "doubtless, exhaustless supplies can be obtained." I hope they have given a screw too much; I hope that they have anointed our eyes, which have too long been turned the other way. Too long have we looked to the dark chambers of the West, where slaves sigh and the sun sets; and we have looked away from the bright chambers of the East, where the bright orb of day first looks upon the world he gladdens; and now it is high time to "awake to righteousness, and sin not."

If they can produce in quantity sufficient, what can they sell it for? That is another and an important question; one which, I dare say, Manchester men won't forget to ask. I believe I go upon good authority when I say, that the average price of cotton on the shores of America is ten cents per lb. What can it be grown for in India?

George Ashburner, Esq. whose paper I have just referred to, says in the course of that paper:—

“ Labour in Central India is cheaper than in almost any other portion of the world; the wages of an able-bodied man being only three rupees [six shillings sterling] per month. It has been estimated, therefore, that Berar cotton may be cultivated profitably for 30 rupees per candy, or for rather less than a penny a pound!”

Grown and picked, I suppose: will that suit you?

Then, as it regards quality, another important consideration, indeed an essential one, what says Kirkman Finlay, Esq. ?—

“ We must not suppose that the cottons usually shipped to Great Britain are the best that can be procured. A few bales from the company’s experimental farm, at Bombay, were sent to Glasgow, and in August, 1836, sold at 9d. and 9½d. per lb., whilst American cotton was worth from 7d. to 10½d.; and *ordinary* kinds of East India cotton, at from 5d. to 7d. per lb.”

Again, he says—

“ The cotton of Guzerat is considered in Manchester a most useful kind of cotton, and superior to the inferior kinds of America.”

When I come to speak, on another occasion, of cotton grown in India, I shall refer to the reasons why it is not of the quality sought. I leave you to judge whether I have succeeded in proving the natural ability of India to meet our demand for cotton. If time permitted, I could demonstrate that there is the same capacity to send sugar, rice, tea, indigo, coffee, linseed, flax, and many other things. But it may be asked, “ Is there a market in India for our manufactures ? ”—“ We like the doctrine of true reciprocity,” say the men of this town; “ and if we took the produce of India, might we hope to find amongst the natives of India a disposition to buy and wear our manufactures ? ” I have shown you, that the effect of our machinery upon India has been to destroy the manufactures of the country; to annihilate, or nearly so, their export trade; to throw them exclusively upon agricultural pursuits; to compel them to look to a foreign supply for their manufactured goods.

“ But,” you ask, “ would the demand be great ? ” Just as great as their prosperity; just as great as your demand for their produce. “ But,” say some, “ are not the habits of the Hindoos fixed and immutable ? May we expect them to change ? ” Why, their habits have never been to go immutably and unchangeably naked. They are fond of flowing robes; the ladies are fond of trowsers and scarfs, and other articles of dress; and the gentlemen, of turbans and robes; and we have seen to what extent they were worn, when they were able to supply themselves with two suits per year. Now as regards the immutability of the Hindoos, and those statements which, with so much pertinacity, were put forth by the East India Company when clinging to their monopoly, and refusing to listen to the expostulations of a country whose commerce has been crippled by their hoodwinked political economy, what says Sir Thomas Munro ?—

“ The people could take a great deal of the British manufactures; they are remarkably fond of them, particularly of scarlet. It is a mistaken notion that Indians are too simple in their manners to have any passion for foreign manufactures. They are hindered from taking our goods, not by want of inclination, but either by poverty or the fear of being imputed rich, and having their rents raised. When we relinquish the barbarous system of annual settlements;

when we make over the lands either in very long leases, or in perpetuity, to the present occupants; and when we have convinced them, by making no assessment above the fixed rents for a series of years, that they are actually proprietors of the soil, *we shall see a demand for European articles of which we have at present no conception.*"

That distinguished and lamented prelate, Reginald Heber, says—

"The natives of India are just as desirous of accumulating wealth, as skilful in the means of acquiring it, and as prone to all its enjoyments, as any people on earth. It is the land-tax that confirms their unalterable poverty. If the channels of wealth were freely opened in India, luxuries would abound as in other countries. It is inconsistent with the laws of human nature to suppose otherwise."

And what says that well-known writer upon political economy, Mr. McCulloch?—

"The principal obstacle in the way of extending the commerce with India, does not consist in any indisposition on the part of the natives to purchase our commodities, but in the difficulty under which they are placed, of furnishing equivalents for them."

And why cannot they furnish equivalents? Because of the blighting influence of that land-tax, of which Sir Thomas Munro, and the amiable Bishop Heber, have both spoken. What says Robert Rickards, Esq. one of the most enlightened friends that India ever had? His name is not unknown to those around me, inasmuch as he filled the situation of factory inspector in this district for several years before his death. In a speech before the House of Commons, in 1813, prior to the renewal of the charter, he said—

"Of all the Indians I have ever seen, none were deficient in the ordinary sensibilities of our nature, none indisposed to the enjoyments and comforts of life, when they had but the means of obtaining them. Their wants might not be precisely the same as those of Europeans; but if their circumstances allowed it, they would have new wants, which European capital, skill, and industry could best supply; and the various productions now raised, or capable of being raised, in their own country, which they would have to interchange with us, would afford means and commodities for trade, which might be carried to an indefinite extent, with incalculable advantage to Britain as well as to India."

And what says Kirkmen Finlay, Esq. upon this subject?—

"Parents," says he, "would be proud to dress themselves and their children in our manufactured cottons. Were the natives of the East Indies to consume as much in proportion as the negroes of the West Indies, they would require more manufactured cotton than is now produced in all Great Britain."

Now, sirs, a word more, and I have done. It will not be within my power to-night to answer the question, "Why do we not obtain our cotton from India?" I shall content myself with showing—indeed, I think I have shown, but I leave you to judge—that there is no natural obstacle in the way; that we must seek the cause, not in the soil,—it is not barren; not in the absence of a labouring population,—there they dwell, two hundred and forty to the square mile, standing all the day idle, "because no man hath hired them"—not in the climate, which is genial,—not in consequence of the absence of the means of irrigation, which are at hand. I shall go into the hindrances, the fiscal and other hindrances, to obtaining a sufficient supply of cotton from India, when I next have the honour of addressing you.

But it may be well to look for a moment before we part, to the

advantages which would result from a free, unrestricted, and extensive trade with India,—the great and glorious principle exemplified, of giving and receiving. Improve first the condition of the natives. Their wretchedness is attributable to the system under which they live. They now live in mud houses: the time was when they were better sheltered. They love not to see the jungle approach the village, and the tiger come forth and seize, now the ox and now the child. No; they would like to subdue the jungle, to expel the tiger, to make the entire country smile; they would like to see the cocoa-nut yielding its fruit where the cypress tree now grows, and man tilling a grateful soil where untamed beasts now share uncontrolled sovereignty over the land. My friends, the first thing we should do should be to improve the condition of the natives; to make them happy; and thus to promote the general prosperity of our Eastern empire. And what would be the consequences of this? The immediate augmentation of the revenues of that country. Twenty millions of money is now raised from India; only four shillings per head; and yet it sinks the wretch who has to pay it, to the earth. How poor then, how wretched must he be! What a system must that be, under which so small an impost has become a burthen, and which has thus caused to present a degenerate aspect, the once hardy and happy Hindoo! It is true we have not chopped off their heads with the sword, but we have crushed them under the Juggernaut of monopoly! Think of the security and perpetuity of our dominions in the East. We are fond of fighting; we choose to do everything by fighting; we let matters go wrong, like a skein of tangled thread; we let the thing get warped and twisted and knotted, and then we must fight it out. And now we are talking of the Russian autocrat, and of the Don Cossack threatening to come across the Indus, and we are preparing to fight. Hear me when I say what an enlightened Indian has declared, that the danger is not from the Russians without, but from our fellow-subjects within; that we have not to fear external aggression, but internal discontent and disaffection. Would you perpetuate your empire in the East? Would you transmit the sceptre of Victoria, which now waves over India, to her successor, and successors for ever? Give contentment to the people; keep them not in a state of subjection, by the exhibition of bristling bayonets and dazzling swords, but by the administration of just and equal laws—make not complexion the test of fitness for office; be it not your one great object to put them as into a cyder-press, and to squeeze out of them all that they can possibly yield. Let them put money in their purse, and you shall get it out. But now you keep it out; you poison the stream of prosperity at the very fountain head; you make them poor, and then accuse them of want of generosity, because they do not give more; you curse the land; you send over it mildew and blight, and then you disparage India! You stand on this side the water, and look across the broad ocean to those snowy plains, and without asking “why?” you say, “Oh, dear! how strange it is that India does not supply us with more cotton!” Then, again, you would get a cheaper article. Your cotton will never be cheap, depend upon it, while it all comes from one place. Let there be fair competition; I ask for India no more than I would give to America. I say, “do her justice,” and she asks no more; she wants no extra favour; she asks but impartial justice.

Had I time,—I may have on another occasion,—I would show you

in another way the gross injustice we have done to that country for many years. Not content with the partial system we have pursued towards our West Indian colonies,—free as we are, loving freedom as we do,—we are still, for some reason or another, (I shall not attempt to account for it,) prone to foster slavery rather than freedom. Oh, we have discouraged the free men who would have given us uncontaminated produce, unstained by tears or blood; and we have fostered those systems which depend altogether for their very existence, for their vital sap, upon the continuance of slavery. Now what would be the first effect of getting our cotton from India? Cheaper cotton, cheaper clothing; and is there no moral tendency in cheaper clothing? Does a man feel when he gets a good suit on his back, as he felt when he had a bad one? Does he skulk along, shunning the eyes of his fellow citizens? Does he avoid the sanctuary of the Deity, and crawl into the grog-shop with the beggar and the profligate? Does not the attire of him in a suit of clothes, that allow him to compete in appearance with those around him, create a feeling of self-respect that lifts him up,—which causes him to walk abroad in the open day, not fearing to be seen, and takes him where the voice of wisdom can be heard, and keeps him from places where only the sounds of unhallowed merriment prevail? It is enough to say, that a careful man can get clothing now. Bring your clothing down to a certain price; make your cotton 2d. a lb. cheaper, and your manufactured goods in proportion; then the wife shall have a gown, and the artisan shall have a jacket. Till you do that, the wife will want the one, and the husband will want the other. Another good effect of the better system would be, that you would abolish slavery. And is that nothing? Is it nothing to speak liberty to millions? Is it nothing to give peace and security to a continent? Is it nothing to say from the market-place, to the American, that which he won't hear from the pulpit? Is it nothing to send out from Manchester, an irreversible and omnipotent decree, "Slavery shall fall; for cotton shall be cheap?" See you not your power? Feel you not your responsibility?

"Britain! the nations know thy voice;
 'Tis thine to make the awful choice;
 'Tis thine to bid the world rejoice;
 Or close the gates of liberty!"

I say unequivocally, and I have not been an unconcerned spectator of the anti-slavery career of this country for the last nine years—knowing, feeling, preaching, as I do, the omnipotence of moral power, yet, calculating the time which it will take to bring about an event, by the inculcation of purely moral principles, and the time it will take to bring about the abolition of such a system as this, by putting in motion, *pari passu* with every other effect, a principle of political economy, so simple, certain, and sure, that we may predicate with absolute confidence upon the result, calculating the time necessary in the one case, compared with the time necessary in the other,—I say, if the youngest amongst us here would live to see the downfall of Spanish, of Brazilian, and, worst of all, of American republican slavery,—you must seek to abolish it, not merely by your remonstrances, your "epistles," your reproaches, but, superadded to these, by your sound, your anti-slavery political economy. You would then be independent of the seasons; for you might have a large supply on hand. Whether

the slaves in America were passive or resistant; whether they toiled willingly or reluctantly, or toiled not at all; whether they obtained their freedom, or whether they remained in bondage—you would still have cotton. You might, from the summit of your prosperity, secure and immovable, look down with calm contempt upon all cotton speculators, and see every shaft which avarice or envy hurls, to shake or destroy you, fall pointless and perishing at your feet. But you cannot do this until you are independent. Independent men may smile; dependent men must keep their smiles concealed, or they must smile complaisance and complacency; they must not smile derision or scorn, while within the gripe of such a man as mercenary M'Duffie of South Carolina. The augmentation of your mercantile navy would be the certain consequence of a better system;—I merely name this. And then the increase, to an inconceivable extent, of your manufactures, upon which I will not dwell to-night. Now, naming no more of the advantages to be derived from a better system, do not these, contemplated singly,—much more, when put together,—do they not present you a sufficient reward for your pains? Are you not summoned by these things from your lethargy, to active exertions in this cause? My friends, our doings in this country are not regarded with indifference in India. The papers that come to us by every overland mail, bring us tidings of the gladness with which our incipient movements and measures are noticed by the people of India. I would say to those who hear me, that the Agricultural Society of India have expressed the high satisfaction they feel at finding that the improvement of the great staples of India has been made a subject of earnest and active attention, by the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester. They bid you God speed. They see the germ of their own prosperity in the yet infant manifestations of generous interposition, or even of interested motive, in this country. But, my friends, while chambers of commerce may do much—much for themselves, much for their country, much for India, much for the world—I speak not to them alone; I speak to my country as to one man. I ask not help—I dare not expect it, still less depend upon it—from Downing-street, or at present from the House of Commons, or from the Board of Control. The board of control I want, is the people of England. There is no other board of control in which I have confidence; and they must be spoken to, and they must hear the language of sincerity and honesty. They will ask for the undisguised and unadulterated truth; and from my lips, at least, they shall have it. While I will not be blind on the one side, to those motives which are of the lower class, I will not be blind, on the other, to those which are of the higher and nobler class. I say, do justice to India, not because you will benefit by it, but because you *ought to do it*. It is your duty. God has imposed that duty upon you; it has been yours from the moment that you became the conquerors of India. And just in proportion as they are deprived of the privilege of self-government, just in proportion as they lack representatives in parliament, just in proportion as princes, and potentates, and peers are deaf to their wailings, and blind to their miseries—just in that proportion are you, the people of this country, called upon to raise that voice which is never raised in vain; which, whenever it speaks to demand justice, never fails—though sometimes it must speak often, and long, and loud,—never fails at last to obtain it from the most supine and most reluctant legislators. To that people I appeal

for India. I pleaded before for eight hundred thousand, I plead now for one hundred millions of human beings ; nor for them alone. The battle-ground of freedom for the world is on the plains of Hindostan. Yes, my friends, do justice to India ; wave *there* the sceptre of justice, and the rod of oppression falls from the hands of the slave-holder in America ; and the slave, swelling beyond the measure of his chains, stands disenthralled, a free man, and an acknowledged brother. Think, then, of these things. India can give you all you want. India can take from you all that you have to give. Your political power can give her freedom ; your encouragement will supply the necessary stimulus ; your commerce will reward her industry ; your manufactures will clothe and adorn her myriad population ; and your religion will sanctify her, and save her from prostration before false deities, and train her to the worship of the living God. Then shall cease in India the desolations of the sword ; then shall cease the pestilence of the plague and of famine ; then shall cease the darkness, the moral darkness, that now shrouds the otherwise brightest habitations of men ; and the mild rule and just laws of England, transplanted to the shores of the East, shall give liberty to the captive, the opening of the prison to them that are bound, and cause the Hindoo, the Mussulman, and the Negro together, to rejoice in the clemency and the justice of the people of England.

END OF THE THIRD LECTURE.

FOURTH LECTURE.

Britain must do justice to India.—Natural History of the Cotton Plant.—Culture of Cotton.—The Roller Gin.—Whitney's Saw Gin.—The Dacca Muslins.—India produces every variety of Cotton.—Miserable Depression of the Ryots.—Tyranny of the Government.—Testified by Servants of the Company.—Obstacles presented by the Government to the Growth of Cotton in India.—Our hopes of success in labouring for British India.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I trust the time is coming, when we shall be no longer subject to the reproach, which up to this period we have so richly merited, of being ignorant of the true state of our possessions in the East. A variety of considerations, each more or less influential upon different classes of the community, urge us to make the condition and resources of India our peculiar study. Among these I may name the pressing necessities and growing disaffection of the native population; the consequent critical tenure of our dominion in India; the falling-off of the revenue, especially that portion of it derived from the land; the possible diminution in our imports from the West Indies; the want we feel of a plentiful supply of cheap raw cotton; and the report which has reached us this day, by that magnificent steam vessel the British Queen, that there is a worm destroying, partially at least, the cotton crop of the United States; the existing character and extent of slavery and the slave trade; the recent suspension of our commercial intercourse with the Celestial Empire; the probable results of the late change in the state of affairs beyond the Indus; the policy of increasing the means of disposing to advantage of the manufactures of this country, and the practicability of reducing the price of many of those articles of tropical produce, which have become necessary both for the rich and the poor. There are many other topics which might with perfect propriety be named, as worthy of our attention in connection with British India. There is perhaps no country in the world more replete with all that is calculated to fire the imagination, inflame the patriotism, and affect the hearts of the people of this country. The student in history—the lover of antiquity—the admirer of stupendous monuments of human skill and industry—the worshipper of the great and grand in nature—the speculator in the rise and fall of empires—the friend of education—the promoter of Christian missions—and the disseminator of the oracles of God—all these may find in the past history and present condition of British India, abundant food for reflection, and a limitless

field for benevolent exertion. I do not, I need not hesitate to declare, that I am influenced less by a desire to see India made a source of wealth to this country, than to see this country made a blessing to India. I would be the instrument, if I might be so honoured, of awakening my fellow citizens to a just sense of their responsibility to the countless multitude, of whose destinies they are at present the arbiters. I would direct them, not so much to the riches which lie beneath the surface of the soil, as to the immortal beings who dwell upon that soil. I feel that every addition made to our national territory, every accession to the number of our fellow-subjects, increases, in exact proportion to the extent of that territory and the number of those immortal beings, our responsibility to that God who is the King of kings, and the Ruler of the nations of the earth. I believe that all who are governed in the name of Great Britain ought to feel the benign influence of her religion and her laws. I am anxious for the exaltation of our national character—not so much by the splendour of our military achievements as by the mildness of our sway; the equity of our jurisprudence; the impartiality of our statutes; the humanity of our penal code; the incorrupt administration of public justice; the protection of the weak; the liberation of the enslaved; the instruction of the ignorant; the trampling under foot of every unholy and unfraternal prejudice;—in a word, by the exhibition of the Christian character—the acting out of the divine injunction, “all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.”

Sirs, it is not enough for me (if it were true) that we govern India better than those of her conquerors who bowed to the pale crescent of the false prophet, or those, their predecessors, who worshipped at the shrine of dumb idols. No: I cannot forget that we have a reputation to maintain; that we have another religion to illustrate; that we have higher privileges to embrace—higher duties to discharge. The God of this nation requires that we should act, not according to Mahomedan or pagan precepts, but according to the eternal law which he has given us, and in the spirit of the blessed Gospel whose holy light and civilising influence he has shed upon our native island. “Where much is given, much will be required.” If we would raise the Hindoo—if we would turn him from idols to the living God—if we would be instrumental in bestowing upon him that noblest and best of all titles, *a Christian*, we must ourselves be Christian rulers, and recommend the Master we profess to serve, by a close resemblance to him in conduct and conversation. Until this be the case, we need not wonder that we are a reproach among the heathen; that we contaminate them by our contact; for up to this moment, every one of us must blush to acknowledge, that the conduct of Europeans in every part of the world has been injurious, and not salutary, to the natives among whom they have sojourned.

I am led to make these remarks, previous to resuming the discussion of the subject which engaged our attention on Thursday evening last, by the earnest desire which I feel that the great object of the British India Society, “the bettering of the condition of the people of India,” should be kept prominently and constantly before the public, and that the primary actuating principle of my own conduct should be distinctly understood. Having done so, I return to consider the subject of our trade with British India in the article of cotton

wool, and the nature of those obstacles which at present lie in the way of our obtaining from that vast country a good, cheap, permanent, and sufficient supply.

Little more than sixty years ago, the cotton manufactures of this country consumed about three million pounds of raw cotton annually. Last year the total amount of cotton wool imported into this country was four hundred and ninety-seven millions, six hundred and eighty-one thousand, four hundred and five pounds ; of which four hundred and fifty-eight millions, eight hundred and eighty-four thousand, three hundred and forty-six pounds were retained for consumption. Now, only thirty-eight millions, two hundred and thirty-two thousand, six hundred and twelve pounds of this was imported from our own possessions in British India. Yet we have been told by a committee of the house of commons, that India is capable of producing cotton of every variety, and in quantities sufficient to meet the wants of the world. Let us look into the reasons why this is not the case. I shall avail myself on this occasion, as I did on a former one, of the excellent work of Mr. Baines, junior.

The article of which we are speaking, cotton, or cotton wool, is a vegetable down, the produce of a plant growing in warm climates, and indigenous in India and America. The name of the genus is *gossypium*, and there are many varieties. The cotton is contained in the seed vessels, and adheres closely to the seeds of the plant. I have here some pods of Indian cotton. Linnaeus enumerates ten species ; Lamarck, eight ; Cavanilles and Wildenow, ten. The three great distinctions are *herbaceous* cotton, *shrub* cotton, and *tree* cotton ; each of which has several varieties, so that some planters have recognised not fewer than a hundred kinds, and the plant seems to have a tendency to run into varieties.

The most useful kind of cotton is the *herbaceous*, which is an annual plant, cultivated in the United States, India, China, and many other countries. It grows to the height of eighteen to twenty-four inches. When the flower falls off, a capsular pod appears, supported by three triangular green leaves, deeply jagged at their ends ; the pod approaches to the triangular shape, with a pointed end, and has three cells. It increases to the size of a large filbert, and becomes brown, as the woolly fruit ripens. The expansion of the wool then causes the pod to burst, when it discloses a ball of snow-white or yellowish down, consisting of three locks, one in each cell, enclosing and firmly adhering to the seeds, which in form resemble those of grapes, but are much larger.

The seed is planted in March, April, and May ; and the cotton is gathered by hand, within a few days after the opening of the pods, in August, September, and October. In America it is planted in rows five feet asunder, and in holes eighteen inches apart, in each of which several seeds are deposited. Careful weeding of the ground is necessary, and the plants require to be gradually thinned, so as ultimately to leave only one for each hole. They are also twice pruned, by nipping off the ends of the branches, in order to make them put out more, and yield a larger quantity of blossom and fruit.

A field of cotton at the gathering season, when the globes of snowy wool are seen among the dark green leaves, is singularly beautiful ; and in the hottest countries, where the yellow blossom, or flower, and

the ripened fruit, are seen at the same time, the beauty of the plantation is, of course, still more remarkable than in America.

The *shrub cotton* grows in almost every country where the annual herbaceous cotton is found. Its duration varies according to the climate. In some places, as in the West Indies, it is biennial or triennial; in others, as in India, Egypt, &c., it lasts from six to ten years. In the hottest countries it is perennial; and in the cooler countries which grow cotton, and in the United States, where the frost of the winter kills the plant, it becomes an annual. In appearance, the shrub has a considerable resemblance to the currant bush. The flower and fruit of the shrub cotton closely resemble those of the herbaceous cotton; but the pod is egg-shaped, not triangular and pointed. The shrub is planted in holes seven or eight feet apart; eight or ten seeds are deposited in each hole, but only one of the stems which they produce is allowed to remain. The shrubs require to be pruned, and the plantations to be well weeded; and they seldom continue to yield good cotton more than five or six years; but, in the hottest countries, two crops a year are gathered; one from October to December, and the other from February to April. The Guiana and Brazil cotton is of this kind.

The *tree cotton* grows in India, China, Egypt, the interior and western coast of Africa, and in some parts of America. As the tree only attains the height of twelve to twenty feet, it is difficult to distinguish the tree cotton and the shrub cotton, from the mention made of them by many travellers.

There is still another tree of very magnificent growth, attaining the height of a hundred feet, and with a peculiar spreading top, which bears a silky cotton of matchless softness, whiteness, and lustre, but of so short and brittle a fibre that it is unfit for spinning, and can only be used for the purpose of stuffing pillows and beds.

The cotton plant, in all its varieties, requires a dry and sandy soil. This is the uniform testimony of travellers and naturalists. Proximity to the sea is proved to be indispensable to the growth of the best cotton, by the experience of the planters of South Carolina and Georgia, who raise the finest cotton known, namely, the Sea Island, on the sandy coasts and low islands of the sea, and who find the same cotton degenerate in length of staple and in quality when grown inland. The Honourable Mr. Seabrook says:—"In proportion to the distance from the sea-board, and to the want of a free circulation of air from the south, is, in general, the downward graduated scale of coarseness in the cotton produced. These causes operate increasingly as you recede from the ocean, until a point is reached at which long cotton cannot be profitably cultivated." Again, he says:—"The cotton of Mr. Burden and his favoured associates is indebted for its celebrity to the combined requisites of fineness, strength, and evenness of fibre. Upon what principles are these distinguished properties dependent? Those planters use, not only extensively, but almost exclusively, *salt mud*. This manure is known to impart a healthful action to the cotton plant, to mature rapidly its fruit, and to produce a staple at once strong and silky."

For the cultivation of the best cotton there are two other requisites besides a sandy soil: proximity to the sea, and salt clay mud as manure. First, very great care is necessary in the selection of the seed; and, second, there must be diligence in weeding, pruning, and

in every part of the cultivation. It is usual to throw the seed into water before sowing it, when the bad seed will float, and the good will sink.

The celebrated Sea Island cotton is much longer in the fibre than any other description. It is also strong and even, of a silky texture, and has a yellowish tinge. Its seed is black, whereas most of the other American cotton is produced from green seed. It is of the annual herbaceous kind. It was first sent from the Bahama Islands in 1786.

The operation of gathering the ripe cotton needs to be performed with care. The women and young people who are employed in it go through the plantation several times, as the pods do not all open together; and the cotton should be plucked within a few days after it has opened. The cotton and seeds are plucked, leaving the husk behind. Fine weather is chosen, as any degree of wet on the cotton wool would make it afterwards become mouldy, and would cause the oil of the seeds to spread upon the wool. That it may become completely dried, it is exposed to the heat of the sun, on a platform of tiles or wood, for several days after it is gathered. By this means, not only the wool, but also the seeds, become dry, in which state they are more easily separated from the wool.

To detach the cotton from the seeds which it envelopes is a work of some difficulty, and one which must be performed effectually before the cotton is packed; otherwise it will inevitably become oily and mouldy, and, by the particles of seed and dirt, be rendered unfit for spinning. To do this by the hand would be a very slow and expensive process, as a man could not clean more than a pound per day. All nations at any remove from barbarism, therefore, employ some kind of machinery.

Here is the ancient hand-mill or roller-gin used in India. [Mr. Thompson exhibited a wooden model of the machine, resembling a small spinning-wheel, which we believe was sent over from India to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in order to see if any of our mechanics could devise a machine that would do more work in separating the seed from the cotton.] It would not be, perhaps, too much to say that a machine of this kind has been used in India for thousands of years. There is a still more simple mode of getting the seeds from the cotton in India. A book now in my possession describes a woman cleansing cotton, by means of a smooth stone placed on the ground; then a pair of wooden soles are put upon her feet [and Mr. Thompson exhibited a pair brought from India, together with an iron pin or roller]; then the cotton is spread upon the smooth stone: this iron roller is placed upon the cotton, and then with her wooden soles she works the roller, and thus separates the seed from the cotton. This, however [pointing to the roller-gin], is a much more useful machine, performing, of course, a much larger amount of work. Here are two rollers placed parallel to each other, one revolving in one direction, and consequently requiring a person on one side of the machine; the other revolving in a contrary direction, and requiring a person on the other side. A person standing on one side feeds the rollers with cotton wool; and as it passes through and is received on the other side, the seeds are left behind, at the side where the cotton is put in. This is the Indian mode of separating the seeds. There are many other kinds of wheels upon a similar principle, but I need not describe them. This

is only the model; but it is in all respects, as regards the wood and the workmanship, an Indian hand-gin, and was brought from India. Now this gin, however expert the operators might be, would not clean, at the most, more than from forty to sixty-five pounds in a day. The long-stapled or Sea Island cotton is still separated from the seeds by rollers, constructed on a large scale, and worked by horses, steam, or other power. A mill of this kind will clean eight or nine hundred pounds of cotton in a day. The short-stapled American cotton is cleansed by a very different and much more rapid process, without the invention of which that species of cotton must have been much dearer than it now is; and, consequently, the cotton manufacture itself could not have attained its present extension. In 1793, Mr. Eli Whitney, of Westborough, in Massachusetts, invented the saw-gin, with which one man may cleanse three hundred weight of cotton in a day. The cotton is put into a receiver, or hopper, of considerable length, compared with its width, one side of which is formed by a grating of strong parallel wires, about the eighth of an inch apart. Close to the hopper is a wooden roller, having upon its surface a series of circular saws, an inch and a-half apart, which pass within the grating of the hopper to a certain depth. When the roller is turned, the teeth of the saws lay hold of the locks of cotton, and drag them through the wires, whilst the seeds are prevented, by their size, from passing through, and fall to the bottom of the receiver, when they are carried off by a spout. The cotton is afterwards swept away from the saws by a revolving cylindrical brush.

"The cotton plants of the new world, and the indigenous plant or plants of India," says an authority for whom I entertain a very high respect, Major-General Briggs, "have been discovered to be of entirely distinct species, different in their habits, and requiring different modes of treatment." This is a very important consideration in the discussion of the subject. He states, however, that "that which is produced on well-cultivated lands has a staple in nowise inferior in length, strength, or fineness, and even superior in colour to that of the Upland Georgia and New Orleans of America." This statement is supported by the evidence given on the subject before a committee of the House of Lords in 1830. From the digest of that evidence, we learn that some of the best Surat cotton is nearly as good in quality as Georgia; "that very clean Indian cotton would approach nearly to the price of American;" and that "Bombay cotton might be grown as good as Sea Island."

"The indigenous plant," continues General Briggs, "grows, for the most part, far in the interior of the country. The cotton of the Deccan and Berar has to travel by land from two hundred and fifty to three hundred miles before it reaches the port of Bombay. Cotton of the same growth has to travel to a great mart on the Ganges; also by a land route at least four hundred miles, whence it has to proceed seven hundred and fifty farther down the river to Calcutta, before it can be embarked there. A third route is from the southern Maratta country to the coast, a distance of two hundred miles, over a tremendous pass of the mountains, whence it has to be embarked and sent five hundred miles by sea to Bombay for shipment; and the last road of the cotton trade is a route of three hundred miles by land, from the tract lying north of the Kishna river, and in the fork between that river and the Toongbudia, ere it reaches the port of Madras."

General Briggs also states that, from an analysis lately made by order of the Royal Asiatic Society, of several specimens of soil pro-

cured from America last year, it appears that silex, in very minute grains, with scarcely any lime; a fair proportion of vegetable matter, with a strong impregnation of the protoxide of iron, forming a light, sandy, friable loam, by no means tenacious, and not very retentive of moisture, are the peculiarities of the American cotton soils; and that the cotton soil of India stands opposed to this description: that it is composed chiefly, not of silex, but of the decomposition of trap rocks, the *débris* of the several chains of mountains which bind and limit, and here and there branch across the vast extent of the trap formation of Central India. This alluvium, in many places, overlies or borders on limestone, which gives occasionally a peculiar quality to the soil, without affecting, in any great degree, its capability of growing indigenous cotton. Now (he observes), it may easily be imagined that the cotton which loves the light, sandy, and comparatively poor soil of America, may not thrive in the fat, black, clayey soil of the indigenous plant of India; and all the experiments that have been made tend to prove this to be the case. The Bourbon and New Orleans plants, that withered and became sickly on one spot in Guzerat, (where the native plant produced, at the same time, a luxuriant crop,) on being removed to another situation, into a light, sandy, and even sterile soil, produced abundantly a good material.

In the same way the Bourbon cotton seeds flourished, and produced an excellent article, on two experimental farms; the one situated near Bombay, and the other at Malwan, on the western coast; while the same description proved a failure in the indigenous cotton grounds in the interior. It is well known (says he) that at Dacca, not far distant from the sea, within the delta of the Megna and Bramapootra rivers, a superior description of cotton has long been grown, which produced those incomparable cloths denominated Dacca muslins. This plant has failed wherever it has been removed and attempted to be grown elsewhere.

While we are speaking of the Dacca muslins, and of the amazing skill of the natives of India in the spinning of cotton thread, I must beg permission to mention a fact related to me since my last lecture, by my scientific, matter-of-fact, and most excellent friend, Mr. Clare. Cotton, he informs me, has been spun in this country so fine, that it required three hundred and thirty hanks of it to make one pound in weight; and, as each hank measured eight hundred and eighty yards, a pound of cotton so spun would extend one hundred and sixty-five miles. The diameter of this thread, measured by a micrometer attached to a microscope, was found to be the *four hundred and eightieth* part of an inch. A single thread of fine cotton, however, spun by the fingers of the Hindoo in British India, when measured in the same way, was found to be, not the four hundred and eightieth part of an inch, but the *one thousandth* part of an inch in diameter; so that it required at least four such threads of handspun British India cotton twisted together, to make one thread equal in thickness to the finest machine-spun cotton in this country. He also stated, that it is understood that a certain degree of moisture is required to be used, in spinning the fine threads by hand in India, and that to this cause is to be attributed the different appearances of the threads, as viewed with a glass of high magnifying power. The fibres of that which was spun by machinery, and without moisture, were easily distinguished, and seemed to touch each other only in certain places; whilst the fibres of

that spun by hand, and with a little moisture, seemed to touch each other in almost every part ; thereby making a stronger thread with the same quantity of cotton, and of much finer appearance, but not so even in its thickness.

Pardon me if I read a short extract, relative to that part of India where the cotton is grown, which makes the Dacca muslin. John Crawford, Esq. in his "History of the Indian Archipelago," says :—

"There is a fine variety of cotton in the neighbourhood of Dacca, from which I have reason to believe the fine muslins of Dacca are produced, and probably to the accidental discovery of it is to be attributed the rise of this singular manufacture : it is cultivated by the natives alone, not at all known in the English market, nor, as far as I am aware, in that of Calcutta. Its growth extends about forty miles along the banks of the Megna, and about three miles inland. I consulted Mr. Colebrook respecting the Dacca cotton, and had an opportunity of perusing the manuscripts of the late Dr. Roxburgh, which contain an account of it ; he calls it a variety of the common herbaceous annual cotton of India, and states that it is longer in the staple, and affords the material from which the Dacca muslins have been always made."

I shall make no apology for going into these particulars, because I am desirous of making these lectures a medium for the communication of information, as well as for inculcating those great principles by which I hope we shall be ultimately able to better the condition of the natives, and to regenerate our Eastern empire ; and as, through the very great consideration and kindness of a portion, at least, of the press of this town, I am enabled to send over this country and to America, and to India, the information I am giving to you, I am desirous of making it as solid and useful as possible. Therefore, if it is not so exciting and interesting as it otherwise might be, I trust that it will be estimated according to its utility beyond the precincts of the walls by which I am surrounded.

General Briggs proceeds to state, what I quoted in my last lecture, that in various parts of India there are soils suited to *all* the varieties of American cotton ; and that, as the knowledge of soils and climate becomes more and more studied and attended to, *India will prove capable of producing cotton of any quality and to any extent*. In the digest of evidence before the House of Commons in 1830, it is stated, that "from experiments lately made, there is no doubt, that if good seed were procured, beautiful cotton might be produced abundantly." Again, that "India produces of itself every variety of cotton. The justly-celebrated Sea Island cotton is actually in cultivation in several places in India." A similar testimony is borne by Dr. Wallich, the superintendent of the botanical garden at Calcutta, in a letter to Mr. Tucker, dated 1828. He says :—

"That there is a sort of cotton, the produce of the West Indies, rather of Barbadoes, which has been cultivated with complete success in the company's territories, I can assert with confidence, because I am in possession of an extract of a general commercial letter from the court of directors, transmitted to me officially from the board of trade at Calcutta, in which it is pronounced equal, if not superior, to any kind procurable in the London market." Dr. W. adds, that in asserting the high capabilities of the company's territories for the growth of the finest cotton, "*experience*, and not *theory*, is the ground on which he has proceeded."

Having, then, again glanced at the capacity of India to produce cotton of every variety and of the very finest qualities, let us inquire what kinds of cotton we are in the habit of receiving from India at the

present time. I speak in the company of men who understand cotton well; I speak, therefore, the more fearlessly, because I shall be corrected if I err. I then pronounce the ordinary supply from India to be of a very inferior kind, coarse, short in the fibre, and the staples of various lengths; that it comes to this country generally in a very dirty state; often mouldy, frequently discoloured, the seed screwed and broken up with the cotton, and the cotton often much injured by the oily substance of the seed being intermixed with it; that bad pods and good ones are indiscriminately mingled. Often, the cotton has not been allowed to ripen thoroughly; and, besides, there are amongst the cotton, shells, sand, stalks, leaves, and dirt. This is a description of Indian cotton as it generally comes into this market. These defects necessarily reduce the value of India cotton in a very considerable degree; and were there no way of removing these defects, or no prospect of being able to apply a remedy, there would be no ground for hoping that the cotton of British India would ever come into successful competition with the cotton of America. But I do not despair of being able to show, even to-night, that a remedy may be found for every defect, and a good and rational hope entertained of seeing India fairly and soon competing with the other cotton-growing regions of the globe. The soil is fertile, extended, varied, congenial, accessible. The people are numerous, willing, industrious, docile; they will work for small remuneration; they will cheerfully imitate any improvements; they will gratefully receive any assistance. The country is ours. We can legitimately interfere. We can interfere without shaking the government, without depreciating the influence, or lessening the income of the East India Company. By animating the natives of India—by removing fiscal impediments—by embarking capital—by exercising a benevolent and vigilant control—we can infuse new life into the commerce and agriculture of the East, and accomplish the highest moral ends, in part at least, by giving a just and right direction to our commercial energy.

- Let us inquire if there be any powerful and vicious principle at work, at war with the improvement of the soil, repressing the industry of the cultivators, and preventing the accumulation of capital. This inquiry is immediately answered in the affirmative—*there is*. The soil of India, to a vast extent, lies under a curse. It is viewed by the cultivator, not as a source of wealth to himself, but the scene of his thankless toil; from which he must reap a crop, not to enrich himself, but a stranger in the land, who claims a proprietary right by virtue of conquest, and annually deprives him of the entire surplus produce of his industry. Is it surprising that under such a system, industry languishes, and the march of improvement is stayed? The people are in the condition of serfs; they are virtually tenants at will; they are at the mercy of men whose sole aim is the collection of revenue. The maximum tax is too heavy to be borne: it never has been reached—it never can be reached; the *ryots*, the cultivators, fall into arrear; they are from that moment liable to be crushed by the collector of the district, who thinks he deals most mercifully with them, when he takes the last pound of cotton or grain of rice, and leaves them to supplicate, “with bated breath and whispering humbleness,” the assistance of the village banker, to enable them to purchase a little seed to scatter upon the earth, and to enable them to keep together the bodies and the souls of their beggared families until the next harvest appears.

And this is the perfection of revenue legislation in India! And under this system (I speak within bounds) live fifty millions of our fellow-subjects! Is there an individual here who can conceive it possible for a people to prosper, and improve the fields around them, when they have no proprietary right in the soil—no long leases—no guaranteed possession, even for a year; when every effort to extend cultivation leads to an immediate additional assessment, without any regard to the capital they have expended; and the government demand, at the end of the harvest, is forty-five per cent. in money, according to a valuation, perhaps, when the produce brought double the amount of what it now brings in the market? Where men are in absolute personal slavery (as in the United States), to men of large capital, great energy, and who avail themselves with eagerness of every invention calculated to increase the productiveness of the soil, or the quality of the article grown upon it, there will be improvement, and, as nearly as may be attained, perfection. And where men have an interest in the ground they cultivate—where they are the owners, large or small—where the outlay of capital and the application of skill and energy are rewarded by the increased value of the property—which property they can transmit to their children, with the assurance that they may in peace and security enjoy it—*there* there will be industry, and perseverance, and improvement, and riches, and prosperity, and happiness. But where, as in the case of India, the government claims to be the sole and universal landlord; sweeps away from the face of the earth the hereditary and rightful proprietors; measures every field, and fixes a tax upon it, generally above its means of payment, even when the harvest is abundant; makes one man answerable for the desecrations of another; imposes a new tax wherever there is the slightest symptom of advancement; lays it down as a maxim that the cultivator should be kept in a dependent condition, and that there should be but two classes, the ruling few, and the abject many; where there is such a government, there will be wretchedness, and poverty, and a retrograde movement; and instead of the old waste places being built up, and the land becoming like a watered garden, there will be depression, barrenness, abandonment, desolation, and death.

And so it has been in those parts of India where the barbarous system I have spoken of has been in full operation for now more than thirty years. Immense tracts of land, where once the fields were in a high state of cultivation—where luxuriant crops were seen waving to the breeze, and the ear was delighted with the drowsy tinklings of the flocks and herds, as they returned from their mountain pastures,—such tracts of land have been abandoned, are now depopulated, and rank weeds and impenetrable jungle cover the space which once rewarded the industry of the happy husbandman with a bountiful harvest. Well might Sir Thomas Munro, himself the father of this system, call this a “barbarous system!” Well might the benevolent Mr. Rickards tell the House of Commons in 1813, that, in the continuance of such a system, policy was disregarded, justice violated, humanity outraged, and Christianity forgotten. And well might the House of Commons declare, that the whole system resolved itself into one of habitual extortion and oppression, leaving the cultivator little more than what he is able to secure by evasion and fraud!

The system under which the ryots of India live, might have been invented on purpose to depress cultivation, to check improvement, to

drive the land into a state of jungle, to annihilate the sources of revenue, and to turn the peasant into a fugitive, a mendicant, a bandit, and a murderer. Had such been the designs of the fabricators of this system—(and far be it from me to charge upon them such designs, believing, as I do, that kind intentions and pure motives govern many of the statesmen of India)—yet, I say, had their desire been to render the land barren, to make the people disloyal and rebellious, they could scarcely have invented a system more complete in all its parts, or more effective in its operations, than that which reigns over two-thirds of British India. What says John Crawford, Esq. on this subject?

"From the ploughing of the land to the reaping of the crop, a constant system of *surveillance* is pursued by the revenue officers. When the peasant's crop fails, or is defective, remissions of tax are made; when it is unusually abundant, an increase is made to his assessment. When the crop of one inhabitant of a village fails, his neighbours are required to make good the deficiency; and when the crops of a whole village fail, or are defective, the neighbouring ones are required to make up the difference to the state. The estimated proportion of the gross produce of the soil, taken as tax by the government, under this system, is, according to its advocates, forty-five parts in a hundred, being a good deal more than *double* what is supposed to be the usual proportion constituting the average rent of the landlord in England. As to the cultivator, who is admitted to be at once labourer, farmer, and proprietor, his average share of the gross produce is stated to be generally *from five to six in a hundred*, or, in other words, he receives, as *rent*, very little more than *one half* of what the clergy of England receive as *tithe*."

A specimen of the working of this system, as every day witnessed in India, is furnished by the lamented Right Honourable Frederick John Shore :—

"Perhaps some of my Indian readers may recollect, in a village or country town in England, the excitement produced by the event of any poor man having his goods seized for rent; the sympathy universally felt for the sufferer, even though his own misconduct may have been the cause of his ruin, and the general indignation against the hard-hearted landlord. Yet *here, hundreds and thousands are fleeced of everything*, whilst scarce an expression of pity is uttered by the English community. Young men in charge of the revenue, talk with the utmost *sang froid* of attaching estates by hundreds, with a view to their sale; and even the phrase, 'The district is almost ruined,' is constantly made use of, without causing any feelings of abhorrence. It may certainly be said in excuse, that habit reconciles us to almost anything. Does the sun of India dry up our sympathies, that in this country there is no one to stand forth as the poor man's friend? We may form some idea of the effect of our revenue system in the valuation of lands ordered by government, in suits for estates, with a view to rate the fees for stamps and lawyers. In the Upper Provinces *the land is to be valued at the rate of one year's rents*; where the permanent settlement exists, at three years; and in rent-free estates, at eighteen years. What would be thought in England of a system of government, which should reduce the value of land to *one year's purchase*, at which price even few purchasers were to be found?"

And Dr. Spry, at this moment a servant of the company in India, says :—

"When a district is over-assessed, and the farmers, in consequence, not only ruined, but cast into gaol, as was unfortunately the case in the early part of our administration of these provinces, the families of such unfortunate cultivators usually emigrate from the country."

He does not mean from India, but from one to some other part of India, where they hope to escape the ruthless persecution of the revenue officer.

" By these acts of oppression, a greater mischief resulted than the person who occasioned it could have contemplated. He forgot, in his anxiety to squeeze from the ruined (ryot) the last rupee that he possessed in the world, the lamentable consequences which would inevitably ensue from such unjustifiable severity ; happy in his ignorance, he fancied that by throwing the farmer into prison, and the land out of cultivation, the one, by some scheme of legerdemain, would coin rupees of the brick-walls of his dungeon, while the other would gain strength by a year or two of fallow. The first idea could as easily be realised as the second. The farmer, as a matter of course, grew poorer ; while the land got choked with stunted brushwood, and a grass which nothing but years could eradicate."

In Doctor Spry's work, he describes in several parts, very vividly, the effects of this system, as he witnessed them in his travels through India. He came to villages utterly depopulated, where two or three tottering huts were all that remained of once happy and populous communities ; and to spots where groves of cypresses were flourishing, with jungle spreading all around them ; where once hundreds and thousands of husbandmen were seen tilling their fields, and supporting their happy families.

With this evidence before you of the misrule of India, do you wonder why the natives do not grow cotton ? Do you wonder that the strange, humiliating, and disgraceful spectacle is presented, of the peasantry of the native governments supplying the article of cotton for the Bombay and Madras markets, and actually passing through those very lands in our own territories, which our grinding taxation has caused to be given up ?

I have said it might seem to have been the end and aim of our government in India, to chill every generous feeling in the breast of the native, to repress industry, and reduce the entire country to a condition of poverty, discontent, and ruin. Hear what Dr. Spry says in the work to which I have referred :—

" The dedication of revenue, for the creation and support of a middle class in the Eastern dominions, has been, with few exceptions, utterly neglected. It is only in the territories of independent native chiefs and princes, that great and useful works are formed or maintained."

What a severe rebuke is this out of the mouth of a company's servant, upon that company themselves ! He complains, while yet in their employment, that it is only in the states, governed by independent princes, that you see any works calculated to ornament the country, and to contribute to the convenience and comfort of the inhabitants.

" In our territories, the canals [the restoration of the Delhi canal forms an exception], bridges, reservoirs, wells, groves, temples, and caravansaries, the works of our predecessors, from revenues expressly appropriated for these undertakings, without any view to a direct return in profit, are going fast to decay, together with the feelings that originated them ; and unless a new and more enlightened policy should be followed, of which the dawn may perhaps be distinguished, will soon leave no trace behind.

" If the native powers were tyrannical and oppressive, they were attentive to the policy which creates and engenders among nations an attachment to the soil that gave them birth. They encouraged and co-operated in the planting of extensive mango groves, so much delighted in by all classes ; they promoted the erection of temples ; they assisted in the formation of reservoirs, and at intervals so tempered their oppression, as to retain within the breasts of their subjects sentiments of gratitude and attachment.

" So far from acting on these principles of policy, we have almost in every instance pursued a contrary course, severing the ties it should have been our urgent desire to strengthen. By our revenue management, we have shaken the entire confidence of the rural population, who now no longer lay out their little capital in village improvements, lest our revenue officers, at the expiration of their leases, should take advantage of their labours, and impose an additional rent.

" With regard to Hindostan, those nations who are unfriendly to us might, with justice, declare our conduct to be more allied to Vandalism than to civilization."

Burke's severe rebuke, continues Dr. Spry, still holds good :—

" That, if the English were driven from India, they would leave behind them no memorial worthy of a great and enlightened nation ; no monument of art, science, or beneficence ; no vestige of their having occupied and ruled over the country ; except such traces as the vulture and the tiger leave behind them."

Had *I* uttered this language, I might to-morrow have been branded as a calumniator ; I might have been charged with sketching from my own distempered fancy scenes of unreal existence. But I have stated, and I will always state, the testimony, and the testimony alone, of men who are known to be official men—accredited men—who have administered, or are administering, the affairs of the government of India.

I will quote another of the company's servants, a good judge upon this part of the subject. It is the opinion of a writer of a valuable pamphlet on the taxation system of India, and now an officer in the civil and military service of Bengal. He says :—

" A persistance, for a short time longer, in our selfish administration, will level the face of the country, as it has levelled the ranks of society, and leave a plain surface for wiser statesmen to act on. At present the aspect of society presents no middle class, and the aspect of the country is losing all those works of ornament and utility with which we found it adorned. Great families are levelled and lost in the crowd ; and great cities have dwindled into farm villages. The work of destruction is still going on ; and, *unless we act upon new principles*, it will proceed with desolating rapidity. How many thousand links, by which the affections of the people are united to the soil and to the government, are every year broken and destroyed by our selfishness and ignorance ! and yet, if our views in the country extended beyond the returns of a single harvest, beyond the march of a single detachment, or the journey of a single day, we could not be so blind to their utility and advantage."

Are we, then, the foes of India, when we discuss the state of the country ? Do we seek to sap the foundations of that pecuniary prosperity, so far as the realization of individual wealth has gone, which has distinguished the East India Company ? Nothing of the kind. Our object is too benevolent ; our means are those only which the purest patriotism, and the most disinterested philanthropy, would suggest. We desire to conciliate that people. *We desire to render them content under the dominion of our sovereign. We desire not to poison, but to purify the fountains of prosperity, both individual and national, civic and rural. We desire not to destroy men's lives, but to save them ; not to empty the exchequer of the East India Company, but to fill it with unpolluted gold, and allow them to gaze upon a country not desolated by their sway, but prospering under their paternal dominion, and rejoicing in the mildness and the equity of the laws which are there administered.

I think I have made it apparent what is the main cause of the depreccsed state of agriculture in India. *It is the revenue system of the*

government. It is the unjust, and I must say, in my opinion, the wicked assumption of the right of proprietorship in the soil. It satisfies me not to tell me, that it is the practice of all Eastern countries to recognise the sovereign as landlord of the soil; to bestow the ownership on the conqueror, to whom the chance of war has given a wide dominion over millions of men, and hundreds and thousands of millions of acres,—to tell me that that man, by virtue of conquest by the sword, has become the master and ruler and proprietor of the soil. Before high heaven I deny his right. I proclaim it the ~~robber's~~ right. It is an assumed, an odious right,—an iniquitous and unlawful usurpation. What made us the proprietors of India? The sword of Wellington! He may have transferred to us the dominion once exercised by Mussulman rulers; but can the sword of Wellington obliterate the requirements of that law, written by the finger of God upon tables of stone? Is it not there written, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods?" Is it not there written, "Thou shalt not steal?" And covet I not,—steal I not,—when I grasp, with ruthless hand, a country, from one shore to the other, and claim that as *mine* which was received as a heaven-originated patrimony by the children of the soil? It is time, sirs, to vindicate the claims of the natives of India. It is right to proclaim it abroad, that, whatever their rulers may say, we, the people of England, deny that the soil of India is ours. Is it not enough to rule the people? Is it not enough to tax all they wear, and all they eat; all that adorns their persons and their houses? Is it not enough to tax the land they till—to take from them half the produce? Is not this enough? Must we go further still, and claim the fee-simple of the entire soil of India? A leading journal, the other day, in a laboured editorial article, claimed the right to do so. That which is morally wrong cannot be politically right. That which makes a man disreputable in private life, never can become right when done to satisfy corporate cupidity or associated wickedness. Let the British public look to this matter. Let them vindicate the claims of the dispossessed people of India, the hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, who now look in vain for a patron and an advocate upon the soil on which they dwell!

I am anxious, however, to look a little closer at the cotton branch of this question. I have occupied your time, so far, in speaking of the oppression of a system which is destructive of the property of the country at large, and which impedes the growth of every thing good, whether of a commercial, agricultural, political, or social description. But, with regard to the peculiar hindrances in the way of obtaining a cheap and sufficient supply of good cotton, the Hon. Mr. Shore thus describes the condition of the cultivators:—

"The land is subdivided into small portions, each tilled by its respective owner, who has his own plough and bullocks; nineteen-twentieths of these are so poor, that, without periodical advances, at every harvest, to procure seed and food to live upon till the crop is ripe, they would not be able to cultivate at all."

"It is notorious," says the Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie, "that, in the rack-rented provinces, all who are connected with the land, endeavour to disguise any indication of the little wealth that is still left, and to assume the appearance of poverty. The general aspect of these provinces is the impoverishment of those connected with the land, as is sufficiently testified by the state of their habitations, and the mud huts which now form the residence of those who, but a few years ago, possessed comfortable houses."

You perceive, clearly, that there exists the greatest possible discouragement to improvement. The people are made poor; they are led to assume poverty, for fear of additional assessments; and, as you will hereafter perceive, a direct premium is offered for the production of inferior, rather than of good cotton. But still I may not have said enough to account entirely for that inferiority of the produce of India, to which I have referred in a former part of my address. Let me, then, bring the condition of the grower of cotton a little nearer to your*view. At the commencement of the season, he is without money, without seed, and without the means of subsistence for himself and his family. Under these circumstances, he makes application to the village banker, the *shroff*, as he is called. This usurious money lender (one of the very few men who profit by the present system in India) offers to help the cultivator, on the condition that he pays in the first place, an exorbitant interest for the accommodation; and then, in the next place, sells to him, at a very low price, the entire produce of his field. The bargain made, and the crop ripe, the cultivator knows that the banker must take such cotton as he has to give, or go without payment of his money. He therefore feels careless about the quality of the cotton, and the manner of picking it, being certain of a fixed price according to weight, in conformity with the agreement. It is his interest, consequently, to put all kinds of cotton together, and to thrust off upon the banker as many leaves and seeds, and as much sand and moisture as he can. The banker, having foreseen this, has provided against it in the terms of the contract. Again; it frequently happens, that the government revenue officers demand security for the payment of the stipulated amount of the land tax, and will not allow the crop to be touched until the security is found. In the mean time the crop ripens; the cotton falls to the ground; is there mixed with leaves and dust, and is greatly injured and deteriorated in quality. Sometimes, too, though allowed to be picked, it is not suffered to be removed from the field. A hole is then made, the cotton is thrown into it, and it is covered up with lumps of earth. Here it lies, until inspected by the revenue officer, and security is given for the liquidation of the debt due to the government. The crop gathered, let us follow it to market, and see what provisions there are for its safe, cheap, and speedy conveyance to the mart where it is to be sold. Say that it is grown in the district of Berar, at the utmost, six hundred miles from Bombay. How is it to reach its destination? Roads there are none. It is therefore placed on the backs of bullocks, who start with all possible expedition for Bombay; for, as the crop ripens in February and March, and the south-western monsoon commences at the beginning of June, no time is to be lost. This journey generally occupies seventy days; so much for *speed*. The cost of conveyance, from Berar to Bombay, is eighty per cent. upon the first cost; so much for *economy*. And it almost invariably happens that large quantities are caught on the road by heavy rains, are perfectly deluged, and, if not entirely destroyed, are greatly damaged, by becoming wet, mouldy, and black; so much for *safety* and *convenience*. The poor bullocks have to halt for days together, in consequence of lameness and fatigue; and when the cotton gets saturated with the monsoon rains, and the weight is thereby doubled, they are literally crushed* to the earth. It frequently happens that

hundreds of their carcasses are to be met with, just previous to the monsoon, strewed along the paths which they have traversed from the interior to Bombay.

"All this, however," says Mr. Ashburner, "may easily be improved. The natural and obvious remedy is a good road for wheel carriages; at present, nothing of the kind exists, over the greater portion of the route between the places above mentioned.

"The effects which improving the means of communication in this way would have upon the trade of Central India, are almost incalculable. The rude carts of the country, upon ordinary and very imperfect roads, lessen the cost of transportation in the proportion, as compared with bullocks, of two to seven, and admit at the same time of double the speed attainable by the latter.

"Were, therefore, the trade of Berar to remain stationary instead of improving, as it might very reasonably be expected to do, by the construction of a good road to the sea coast, the first effect of such a measure would be *to lessen the cost of transportation five-sevenths upon the amount of the produce sent to and from that and the neighbouring provinces*, which was last season estimated in round numbers at

Bullock Loads.	
Cotton.....	90,000
Salt	200,000
Total.....	290,000

"But, instead of estimating the probable saving of this immense traffic at five-sevenths, suppose, to be within bounds, that it is taken at only one-half. The result, allowing eight rupees as the average cost of transportation for a single bullock load, would be a reduction of expense of sixteen lacs of rupees per annum, or in round numbers of £160,000; and this, it is to be borne in mind, would be upon one route alone! At the same time, such a saving would probably be the least of the advantages resulting from the work in question. By lessening the expense at which the produce of Central India, on the one hand, and of the coast on the other, could be carried to a market, it would increase the demand for it to a proportionate extent. This again would stimulate cultivation and production; and, as the population of the country in question is enormous, it is difficult to assign limits to the increase of trade that would arise from conferring upon it merely the ordinary means of intercourse in all civilized states, of which hitherto it has unfortunately been in a great measure deprived."

It is worthy of remark, that, while the fine kinds of cotton, exposed to the rains, have deteriorated fifty per cent. the inferior sorts do not suffer beyond ten or twelve per cent. Hence, another inducement to send common cotton.

I must here also, give you the testimony of a Manchester gentleman. I do not know that I am permitted to name him; but he is a gentleman of high respectability, who went to India some time ago, and on his return furnished to the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, an account of his experience in India, as it bears upon the question now under discussion. He says:—

"During my stay in Guzerat, in the spring of 1837, I was occupied several months in purchasing, cleaning, packing, and shipping East India cotton. The cotton grown in Guzerat (the best in India) is *taxed by the honourable company at a rate which often proves fifty per cent. of its market value.*—[A tolerable tax, that!] The cotton with the seed in it (called *kupass*), as it is taken from the plant, is often very much injured before cleaning. It is in this state that the Honourable the East India Company levy their land-tax on it."

"Immediately after it is gathered, it is brought (by the tax-gatherers) into the government *kullies* (yards); and if the growers, or owners, are not

immediately prepared to pay the tax upon it, the *kupass* is buried in the ground."

This delicate cotton wool, that the American planter is so afraid of injuring, that he will not allow it to be exposed to moisture, and spreads it upon roofs made of tiles or wood, that the genial heat of the sun may extract from it any lingering moisture; the tax-gatherers dig a pit for it; toss it in with less care than we do our winter potatoes; in goes the cotton that is to come to Manchester.

"There is no straw or matting placed between the earth and the cotton.—[There is for our potatoes.] The top is covered with large lumps of earth. I presume this method has been resorted to on the part of the hon. East India Company, to avoid the slight expense of building sheds, and has been connived at on the part of the dealers and cultivators, because the moisture to which it is thus exposed strikes through the cotton, and very much tends to increase its weight and improve its appearance for the time being; but when it is packed in a moist state, mildew naturally follows; and before the cotton reaches England, the colour is very much deteriorated. The *kupass* (unseeded cotton) also becomes mixed with lumps of hard earth; and as it cannot be passed through the seeding machine without being beaten out, to facilitate the fibres leaving the seed, to which they are very tenacious, these lumps of dirt are broken up into a fine brown powder, which cannot afterwards be extricated from the cotton. I am informed that the Omrawuttee cotton is grown at the rate of two pounds for two pence, in moderately favourable seasons—[This exactly agrees with the testimony which Mr. Ashburner has given, and which I stated on a former occasion]—but as government, who neither sow nor reap, take one-half of this as their land tax, the remaining *one* pound stands in two pence to the grower. The patells, or heads of villages, to whom government look for the payment of all demands, oppress the poor ryots (cultivators) in the same ratio as government is arbitrary in its exactions from the patells. I am convinced in my own mind, that the effect of judicious irrigation would be exceedingly beneficial."

Now see the difficulty, the inseparable difficulty, in the way of irrigation:—

"In support of my idea regarding irrigation, I would call your attention to the fact, that no good cotton from warm climates is imported to Great Britain, that has not been irrigated: as Egyptian cotton for instance; and in Peru, cotton could not be grown at all without artificial irrigation. Even in India, many articles are irrigated, such as sugar, tobacco, and chilies. But I am informed, on undoubted authority, that all irrigated lands in India are doubly taxed (sometimes trebly and quadruply); so that, supposing that, with the expenses of irrigation, three pounds of cotton could be grown for fourpence-halfpenny, the honourable East India Company would take, under such circumstances, *two pounds as their share*; and consequently, *the remaining one pound would cost the cultivator fourpence-halfpenny.*"

You see the obstacles. Then, again, take the testimony of the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay. That body, writing to the chief secretary of the government, at the presidency, says, under date of March 4th, 1837:—

"Sir,—I am requested by the Chamber of Commerce, most respectfully to bring to the notice of the right honourable the governor in council, the situation in which the cotton dealers in the Broach Collectorate are now placed, owing to the annual assessment (land tax) on the cotton for the revenue not having been yet fixed. Until this assessment has been made, *the cotton cannot be shipped for Bombay, nor, unless under certain restrictions, not available to all the dealers, can the cotton be cleaned and prepared for shipment.* Under the most favourable circumstances, the time for effecting all this is, from the nature of the climate, necessarily very short. Any delay in fixing the assessment still further, curtails the very short period the climate allows, and is felt as a very great hardship."

Surely it should be the object of the government to remove, without delay, these impediments to the agricultural prosperity of India. Take another testimony :—

“ The great cause of the inferiority of the Indian cotton,” says one of the papers laid before the Chamber of Commerce, “ is the circumstance, that the growers do not benefit by improving the quality of their cotton, because it is sold and mortgaged before it is sown, at a fixed price per candy, to a middle-man, who again sells it to another, who brings it to Bombay market, and re-sells it to a shipper. At present, those connected with the cultivation of cotton are subject to great delay and loss, by the system of fixing the land tax on the cotton after it is picked. And as there is only a limited number of revenue officers appointed for this duty, great delay occurs, and the cotton is frequently kept a long time in pits, dug in the field, where it was grown, carelessly covered over with earth. It therefore becomes impossible to have it cleaned before the monsoon (from June to the end of October); and instead of being in Bombay in May, it cannot be brought there until November, December, and January; its quality having been much deteriorated by exposure to four months rain, in very damp huts, and by being mixed with earth or sand, from the little care which has been taken to keep it clean during that period. The evils under which the cotton trade in India suffer are these :—

1. “ *Excessive land tax*, exacted in an unfair manner, which must check all improvement.

2. “ *The want of good roads*. Cotton cannot, therefore, be brought from Central India, which is capable of supplying the world.

3. “ *The dependent condition of the cultivators* on their bankers. Owing to this, it is their interest to produce a large quantity of inferior, in preference to a less quantity of good cotton, as they receive more for the former than for the latter; even if the smaller quantity of fine were worth double the other in the Bombay market.

4. “ *The delay thrown in the way of cleaning the cotton by the government revenue officers*.

“ This last evil might be remedied by appointing a larger number of them in the cotton districts, with strict orders to occasion no delay, but, on the contrary, to use every exertion to facilitate the speedy transmission of the cotton to the market.”

One method of collecting the revenue, mentioned in Mr. Kirkman Finlay’s paper to the Chamber of Commerce, I must not allow to pass without noticing. He says that, amongst the means resorted to by inferior revenue officers, is the following :— When a defaulter has a daughter, a person of a much lower caste is selected as her husband, provided he be willing to pay a large sum for the privilege thus offered of marrying into a family of higher caste; the defaulter is then compelled to give the hand of his daughter to the person so selected, and the money realized by the transaction is immediately seized by the government. I refrain from going further into this subject, or I might relate deeds of much darker complexion than the one here described. Let us hope the time is coming when the Company, or whoever may be the rulers of India, will act upon other and better principles. When they do, their revenue will be greater, and the character of their administration will be respected and upheld.

Now look at the difficulties in the way of growing cotton :—First, the absence of proprietary right in the soil. Here is the master evil; here is the great injustice of our administration in India; depriving the natives of the soil of their right to that soil; utterly despising them; sweeping off all the great landlords and all the little ones together; reckoning directly with the cultivator of the individual field, and taking from him at least forty-five per cent. of the gross produce of the soil. Then, the heavy and fluctuating assessments; then, the utter dependence upon the village bankers, producing, as you have seen, careless-

ness in growing, in picking, and in cleaning the cotton ; then, the damage done to the cotton on its journey from the interior to the coast. Then, the insufficient accommodation, or rather no accommodation at all, which it finds when it has arrived at the coast ; for you have seen, that in Guzerat, though a part of India as well managed as any other part, it is tumbled into a pit, covered with lumps of earth, and there it lies to contract moisture, and it comes up in a state perfectly unfit to be packed and embarked for this country. But again, there is the want of care on the part of the natives, I admit, in respect to soils and situations ; then the non-introduction of foreign seeds, which is a very important part of the business ; then the want of the means of transportation ; then the negligence and the caprice of the revenue officers, who often, through mere disinclination, refuse to assess the cotton, until it is very much injured in its quality ; then the want of an efficient system of civil administration, so that the individual who is injured can obtain no redress, and must apply, if he does apply, to a man who has rather an interest in oppressing him, than in redressing his grievances. Then the fact that cotton is propagated for ages upon the same soil and from the same seed. Add to this the insufficient care paid to the rotation of crops. Then add the fact, that other crops are grown along with the cotton crops, which interfere with the health and productiveness of the cotton. And there are yet other reasons which I will state in the words of the writer of a very sensible paper on the subject. He says, writing to the Chamber of Commerce :

“ A residence of some years in South Carolina enables me to suggest the two probable reasons for the failure of experiments which have hitherto been made by cultivating American seed, or other foreign seed.

“ 1. Some of these experiments have been made with the black or Sea Island seed, which, though producing the best cotton in the world, is only cultivated to advantage in peculiar situations, as in the low flat islands on the coast of Carolina and Georgia. This seed is found to be wholly unsuited to the cotton lands of the interior, where the green seed of various kinds is universally planted, and from which is grown the great crop of America. Out of a crop of one million eight hundred thousand bales, the produce from the black seed is little more than twenty thousand bales.

“ 2. Another cause of failure probably arises from the experiments having been conducted on too small a scale. It is generally believed in the cotton districts of the United States, that where neighbouring lands are planted with different species of cotton, the *farina* from the blossom of the one sort is carried in various ways to the other, and that both crops will contain a mixture of each kind. Having no knowledge of botany, I am unable to assert positively that this supposition is well founded ; but analogous facts are said to have been observed with respect to other plants in this country. But supposing the fact to be as is so generally supposed, and also that in India (which I believe will be found to be the case) the foreign seed that has been introduced has been planted in small patches of ground, in the vicinity of fields, where the common cotton of the country is growing ; the two kinds of cotton would thus become mixed ; and though, for the first year, a better crop might be obtained from the patch, yet in the second or third year (the larger body being of the common sort) the quality would be so mixed, as hardly to exhibit any improvement ; and an erroneous inference might be drawn, that the climate was unsuitable to the new seed.”

I shall not occupy your time any longer, with detailing other obstacles to the introduction into this country, at the present moment, of a good description of cotton from India. But I will notice, in a very few words, the remedies to be applied. These, however, must have suggested themselves, as the grievances have been dilated upon. For instance, when I say that the natives have been deprived of their pro-

prietary right in the soil; when I say, that the land-tax is so heavy that it cannot be borne; when I say, that it is fluctuating, and that it represses all improvement and industry,—the remedy naturally suggested for these grievances is the restoration to the native of his soil; the fixing in perpetuity the tax which he shall pay; the making that tax moderate; the fixing it according to equitable principles, and thus giving him a motive to improve his land, and to increase the amount and value of his crop, that he may derive a direct and permanent benefit. Then you will have at once perceived the necessity of roads in India. Here, from the cotton district, you find them utterly unable to get their cotton to Bombay, a distance of three, four, five, or six hundred miles, except upon the backs of bullocks, along very difficult roads; and when those roads, at all times devious and difficult, become still worse by the heavy rains which fall and break them up, the cotton is destroyed, the bullocks die, immense loss is sustained; and if it reaches Bombay, the probability is, that it will be still further injured, by the negligence of the revenue officer, who takes charge of the article. Roads, therefore, are wanted. Had time permitted, I could have shown where they are most wanted, and have pointed out that, not only with respect to cotton, but many other things,—indeed to commerce at large,—they would infinitely increase the prosperity of the country, and hasten the time when the cotton of India would come here in as large quantities as is demanded by the people of this island. Then, the introduction of a better system of cultivation; but this, as I have said, will never be, till the cultivator is assured that he shall derive some advantage from the adoption of a better system. Alexander Rogers, Esq. in reference to the willingness of the natives to act upon a better system, says, in a paper which he also has communicated to the Chamber of Commerce here:—

“ The prejudice of the natives to the introduction of improvements in agriculture, is often referred to. I will, therefore, record my opinion upon the subject. The peasantry of India are, I think, better educated and less prejudiced than the peasantry of England were thirty years ago. No considerable difficulty was found in introducing a new and superior method of cultivating and preparing *opium*, of which India exports to the value of £5,000,000 per annum, of the finest quality in the world.

“ There was no difficulty in improving the growth and manufacture of *sugar*, of which Indian sorts sell (on the average of all last year) four shillings per cwt. better than that imported from the West Indies.

“ There was no difficulty in introducing the cultivation, on an improved system, of *indigo*, of which India exports to the value of £2,000,000 of the finest quality in the world.

“ There was no difficulty found in adopting the most improved Italian system in the treatment of the *silk worm*, and reeling raw silk, of which India exports per annum £500,000 worth. I therefore see no important difficulty in introducing superior cotton.

“ I believe there is more cotton produced in India than in America, but it is required for home consumption. That it has not been grown extensively for exportation, is accounted for by the fact, that India has been hermetically sealed to European enterprise up to 1815; that, from that time to 1833, the government manufactured and traded, and private capitalists did not dare compete with so powerful an opponent. Europeans out of the service were permitted to reside in India *only* by sufferance, liable to deportation at the will and pleasure of the government, without cause assigned. No European could hold land in India, nor go there without special leave; to procure which, required much interest and expense.

“ Since 1833, the commercial occupation of the government having ceased, all their establishments have been thrown *too suddenly* on the hands of private

speculators. Capital and credit have been deranged by the failure of six agency houses, to an enormous amount. The distance and want of information about India, have prevented English capitalists from directing their views to that quarter. Credit is now restored; India is brought nearer to England, by the opening of the overland route, and steam communication.

"In order to the obtaining a supply of cotton from India, I would suggest the forming of joint-stock companies, having the liability of shareholders limited. Our capital, credit, and demand, have forced into growth the cottons of America. The climate and soil of British India are perfectly congenial to the growth of fine raw cotton."

I must, ladies and gentlemen, have trespassed too long upon your time in these details; but they are not, I think, uninteresting to many who hear me; I feel convinced that they are valuable; and I trust that the statement of them will not be found without effect.

We have now undertaken to improve the condition of British India; to remedy the defects to which I have referred; to obtain justice for a hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, and to extend the commercial intercourse between that vast empire and these islands of the parent country. * You may ask, upon what do we ground our *hopes of success*? I would say, in the first place, upon the conviction that has at last been wrought in the minds of the directors of the East India Company, that a permanent settlement of the land-tax upon equitable principles, is demanded by and must be granted to the natives of India. Not very long ago, when this question came up for discussion in the court of directors, and a division took place upon the subject, they were equally divided as to giving a permanent settlement of this tax to the whole of India; and a casting vote against the extension of that boon at the present time was given by the chairman. So that you perceive there is hope even in that quarter. Although we make our appeal to "all England," for England must decide,—England must redress the wrongs of India, and carry out those great principles upon which her prosperity depends,—yet there is hope in the court of directors; and I would say, let every opportunity be embraced of urging upon that honourable court the necessity of doing that which they seemed to be, but the other day, upon the point of doing; but which unhappily, they have again procrastinated.

We rely next, and chiefly, upon the inherent goodness of our cause. It is the cause of justice—it is the cause of freedom—it is the cause of humanity—it is the cause of patriotism—it is the cause of religion—it is the cause of God. Why should we fear?

Then we look hopefully upon this question, because of its happy coincidence with all the great interests and pursuits of our fellow-citizens. It squares admirably with all their predilections and their pursuits. Do they love trade? The improvement of the condition of India promises to augment the trade of this country to an inconceivable extent. Do they love dominion? Do they desire to see this extensive colony still attached to the parent country,—still governed by this little island? Well, here is the way to perpetuate our dominion there; to perpetuate it without expense, nay more, with absolute advantage and great profit to ourselves.

Then again, we have been favoured to obtain, since this question was first agitated, the prompt and efficient co-operation of many most excellent and eminent individuals, who have spent their lives in high official situations in India. I was exceedingly encouraged to find, after I had waded through the details of this question, and had ven-

tured to speak some half-dozen times upon it, that those who had lived all their lives in India said, with respect to the allegations I made against the company, and the picture I drew of the condition of the natives, that in the one case the indictment was correct, and in the other the picture most faithful. And those individuals have joined us. We have among them men who have spent their lives, and gained their fortunes in India,—who have governed men by tens of millions, and have had the management of armies in that country, and have had confided to them the largest amount of discretionary power. And these men are with us. Their hearts beat in unison with ours; our objects are supported by them; and hope, which never dawned upon their minds in India, has dawned upon them here, seeing, as they think they see, the mustering of that mighty energy that snapped the fetters of the Negro in the West—and is equally able to raise to competence, and comfort, and liberty, and independence, the Hindoo in the East. I say, hope animates them; they are with us; they have gathered around us; they are willing to labor; they say, "We will give you information; we will contribute of our substance; we will correspond for you with our friends in India; you shall diffuse our facts abroad; you shall muster the sympathies and the suffrages of the people of this country; because we know that, whenever the people of these islands shall be suitably impressed with the value and the importance of their Eastern empire, it will not be long ere they ask for India the justice which will make that country prosper, and enrich themselves in return."

Then we rely upon the fulness and completeness of our case. Sirs, I might take up days and weeks of your time in furnishing evidence upon this question. How so many bulky volumes of evidence should have lain so long neglected,—unless it were because they were mighty and numerous, and dry and dull,—I cannot conceive; but there they are, by scores and hundreds, and any man who chooses to look into any of them, published during the last fifty years, finds, upon almost every page, abundant proofs of the necessity of those very reformations which I am now recommending to be adopted. I have chosen to quote recent travellers and living functionaries; because I think that testimony bearing upon the present actual condition of India, is better testimony than that of those, who, however great and however veracious, are now gathered to their fathers.

Then, again, we have reason to know that this question has already taken hold to some extent upon the anti-slavery strength of this nation; that many of the best and most enlightened friends of the negro, in Scotland, in England, and across the Irish channel, are aware of the intimate connection between the accomplishment of our object and the accomplishment of theirs; and that they, therefore, with us, are prepared to diffuse information, and to unite with the British India associations that are now in course of organization, in different parts of the country. And I look, my friends—I will not conceal it—to that same spirit, to those great principles, which sustained those who worked in the anti-slavery contest in the darkest hour; which made them hope against hope, and believe for victory when all was unpromising and cheerless. I rely upon that same spirit, upon that same dauntless daring, that same unwearying perseverance, that same modest and unostentatious, yet powerful and almost omnipotent agency, which

has been at work for fifty years in behalf of the negro, and which recently was manifested so efficiently as to obtain for him an entire victory over all his foes in the West Indian Islands.

Then, again, I rely for success upon the fact that our control over Indian affairs is absolute and unlimited. I want to disabuse the public mind of the idea, so exceedingly erroneous, that the affairs of India are committed to the hands of twenty-four gentlemen in Leadenhall-street, London. No such thing. The affairs of India are in your hands. It is your duty to look into Indian affairs. It suits the purposes of men who love patronage, pelf, and power, better than doing their duty,—it suits them mighty well, that you should say in the language, though not I trust in the spirit, of one of old, “am I my brother’s keeper ?” and leave it to them to govern or misgovern, to guide or to confuse, the affairs of India. It suits their purpose well ; but it does not become you ; it is not the part of men who are the guardians and ought to be the defenders and asserters of the rights of the Indian. I say the affairs of India are your affairs ; and you have a direct, a legitimate, a constitutional, an omnipotent power over the affairs of that country. At any time after due notice being given, the government of that country can be assumed by the crown of this country ; every stockholder, every proprietor, can be paid off ; the sceptre can be taken from the twenty-four chartered sovereigns in Leadenhall-street, and transferred to the hands of responsible ministers in Downing-street ; and you, the people of this country, through your representatives in parliament, may suggest, and ultimately carry out, any of your benevolent purposes with respect to that country. Is it not, therefore, the duty of every individual who is impressed with a just view of the magnitude of this question, to do all in his power to bring others to see with him, and to labor with him, in the work of regenerating an empire like that to which I have called your attention ?

Finally, I believe that we shall find all the sentiments that have been advanced in this place echoed in India. Already a voice has come back to us from that peninsula, fully attesting the truth of the statements that we have made, urging us forward, confiding to the people of this country the redress of the accumulated wrongs of that people, and inspiring the people there with hope, animating them to renewed exertions, and reconciling them for the present to their hard and almost unpitied condition, by pointing to the growing spirit of this country, and to the efforts, though few and weak, that have already been made in their behalf. I believe we shall have auxiliaries there ; I believe that the wealthier of the natives, that the more liberal of the European population who are not the servants of the company, and that many of the most eminent and efficient of the company’s servants, will be on our side. We do not want proofs of this ; and ere long, I trust, we shall be enabled to exhibit an array of strength in that country, which will contrast not unfavourably with the moral strength which has been enlisted in the cause here at home.

And who else are with us ? I am sure that every lover of personal freedom, of legitimate commerce, is with us. The slave in every part of the world is with us. He who tills the sugar-cane in Brazil, the cotton tree in Carolina, or the coffee plant on the island of Cuba, these are with us ; well knowing, if they understand the bearings of the question, and the true cause of their present condition, that it must

be the fair competition of free labour with slave labour, that is to snap the fetters which now encircle their limbs.

And, sirs, what is the end at which we aim? It is to improve the condition, to regenerate the population, of one of the grand sections of the globe. The whole of Asia is before us. Three or four hundred millions of human beings are influenced by every thing we do, by every thing we leave undone, in regard to British India. We seek to circulate throughout the whole of the eastern hemisphere, those principles that are ordained of God to bless and to save mankind. Our object, let it ever be remembered, is a beneficent object. We do not seek to cover crimsoned fields with the bones of the slain, but to save the lives of those who are ready to perish, and to make "the wilderness blossom as the rose." We seek not to extend the dominions of our virgin monarch by the sword and by conquest; but to extend her reign over the hearts of men, and to plant her throne deep and immoveable in the affections of her distant subjects.

"Be these thy trophies, queen of many isles!
On these high Heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.
First by thy guardian voice to India led,
Shall Truth divine her tearless victories spread;
Wide and more wide the heaven-born light shall stream,
New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme;
Unwonted warmth the soften'd savage feel,
Strange chiefs admire, and turban'd warriors kneel;
The prostrate East submit her jewell'd pride,
And swarthy kings adore the Crucified."

FIFTH LECTURE.

Anti-Slavery Aspect of the British India Question.—Pro-Slavery Constitution of Texas.—Inland Slave Trade of the United States.—Inefficiency of the Ordinary Means for Suppressing the Slave Trade.—Slavery may be abolished by giving Justice to British India.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

We have met this evening to consider one of the most interesting branches of that great subject, upon which our attention has been engaged for a series of evenings, namely, "the anti-slavery aspect of the British India question." I confess that it is to me peculiarly delightful, to look at the connection which subsists between the accomplishment of our great object in reference to British India, and the advancement of that noble cause in which ourselves and our country have been so honourably engaged during the last half century. It has fallen to my lot frequently to discuss, in its varied bearings, the topic of slavery, as connected with our colonial dependencies and other parts of the world, and to look also to the nature and extent of that odious and wicked traffic in human beings, which is carried on between the shores of Africa and the islands and continent of North America; and, after a consideration long and anxious, of this great subject in all its aspects, immediate and collateral, I am brought to the conclusion, that, if we would prosecute, with any rational hope of success, the great cause of universal emancipation, we must put into operation that potent principle of political economy upon which I have dwelt in former addresses, and without which our efforts of another kind would be at once inconsistent and ineffectual. I am no stranger to what has been accomplished by purely moral means, in reference to our British West India islands; I cannot look back upon the struggles in which we have been engaged, for the abolition of the slave trade, for the overthrow of colonial slavery, and, more recently, for the extinction of that vile system which went under the name of negro apprenticeship, without admiration of the almost omnipotent power of public opinion, brought to bear upon the legislature of a country, which has a supreme control over the question to which those moral efforts were directed; but, while I am duly sensible of the duty and propriety and efficacy of moral means, I am equally sensible of the vast importance, of the absolute necessity, of other means to effect the extinction of slavery and the slave trade, in countries over

which we exercise no direct legislative influence. I rejoice in the progress of the cause in the United States of America. I have frequently addressed audiences upon that subject in this town; I have dwelt upon the early history of the great struggle in America; and I have exhibited the conflicts, the toils, and the triumphs of the noble and martyr-like spirits, which have been raised up to advance the cause of freedom in that great but inconsistent and guilty land; and I believe that there is a spirit at work among the people on the other side of the Atlantic, which will ultimately prove fatal to the existence of that system, which is so foul a stain upon the profession and the character of that otherwise free and noble people. But, I believe, with reference to that country, that the abolitionists, however numerous, however fearless, however well organised, however wise in their measures, however bold and intrepid in the prosecution of their designs, will find their great enterprise in the United States exceedingly retarded in the accomplishment of its object, unless it be aided by the employment of those means which Providence has put within our reach, and without which the American Anti-slavery Society would be left comparatively weak and helpless.

I come, therefore, to-night, to connect the British India question with the great question of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world; and to show what we may reasonably expect to be able to do for the cause of human freedom, while we wisely and energetically seek to promote the good of our fellow-subjects in British India. It may be necessary to dwell for a moment or two, upon the present state of the world, in regard to negro slavery and the slave trade. You are aware that there are in the United States of North America, nearly three millions of human beings, who are held in a condition of absolute and unmitigated thralldom. You are aware, that in Brazil there are upwards of two millions of human beings in a similar situation, and in the dependencies of other Christian states more than one million, making a total of six millions of human beings held as goods and chattels by nominally Christian states. You are aware, also, that there has recently sprung into existence a republic on the shores of America, known by the name of Texas; that this is a great country wrested from the territory of Mexico, appropriated by a number of lawless adventurers from the United States, who have gone thither, carrying slaves with them, and have hitherto, by force and fraud combined, kept possession of this country, to which they have no right, either moral, political, or natural; and that they are now carrying on a very extensive trade in slaves, in the hope of erecting themselves into a large and prosperous cotton-growing community. As there is at this moment considerable discussion in reference to Texas, as the public papers are arguing *pro* and *con* the propriety of a recognition of that infant republic by the government of this country, I desire to bear my testimony against that republic, as being unworthy of the countenance and support of this Christian and anti-slavery nation. I believe there is not to be found on the face of the globe we inhabit, a confederacy of human beings more wicked in its principles, more outrageous in its political doctrines, than the confederacy of men, all nearly destitute of character, and many of them bankrupts in circumstances, who form the republic of Texas, on the shores of America. As a specimen of their political principles, allow me to draw your attention to the ninth section of their Constitution, formally proclaimed, in which it is decreed that—

“All persons of colour who were slaves for life, previous to their emigration

to Texas, and who *are now held in bondage*, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the *bona fide* property of the person so holding the said slave, as aforesaid. *Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them*, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States: *nor shall Congress have the power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves without the consent of Congress*, unless he or she shall send his or her slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic, without the consent of Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the *United States of America*, is forever prohibited, and declared to be piracy."

The tenth section is equal in atrocity and bold-faced wickedness to the ninth. It decrees that—

"All persons (*Africans, the descendants of Africans, and Indians excepted*) who were residing in Texas on the day of the declaration of independence, shall be considered citizens of the republic, and be entitled to all the privileges of such."

Who does not scorn such a republic as this? Who in Europe does not regard with abhorrence, with loathing, and with execration, such a proscriptive constitution as this, founded upon colour, and not upon merit, not upon intelligence, not upon industry, not upon real worth and qualification for citizenship, but upon that complexion which God in his wisdom and goodness has seen fit to stamp upon his human and immortal creatures? Here you perceive, in the first place, that slavery is expressly permitted; that persons coming from the United States into Texas are permitted to bring their negro chattels with them, and to hold them as absolutely and as securely as they did in the States of America. You perceive, in the second place, that the constitution deprives even Congress of the power to emancipate any slave or slaves, within the limits of the republic. That, in the third place, it prohibits the emancipation of any slave, whether male or female, by his or her master, except upon the condition, that the slave so emancipated is carried beyond the bounds of the state. In the next place, while it professes to abolish, or rather to prohibit, the foreign slave trade, it makes provision for its continuance, inasmuch as it admits, without question or limit, persons from the United States of America to enter the republic with their slaves; and hence, if a man desires to take a thousand slaves into Texas, and cannot procure one in the United States, he has but to land them upon some part of the United States, and then to cross the Sabine river in the character of an emigrant from the United States, and he may immediately enter that republic, and settle there as a slaveholder, with his long and black retinue of human beasts of burden, stolen from any part of the world. And you perceive, in the last place, that coloured persons, negroes and their descendants, or Indians and their descendants, and all mixed breeds, are utterly disfranchised; and that the boasted freedom in Texas proclaimed the other day, is only for those who are of unmixed white blood, and absolutely disfranchises and keeps in interminable bondage every individual who has in his veins one drop derived from the negro on one side, or the Indian on the other. I say, such a republic, so far from deserving to be recognised by any Christian country on this side of the Atlantic, deserves nothing but the most severe and unadulterated rebuke and execration, and ought to be kept far from all intercourse, if it were

possible, with the people of this country, until a system so unholy and so unfraternal as this is entirely abolished.

Then, with regard to the African slave trade: those who have made themselves familiar with the details that have recently been published, respecting the extent and character of the slave trade carried on between Africa and America, know how dreadful and appalling, how completely heart-sickening, are the features of that most execrable traffic. Since the year 1807, the exportation of human beings from the shores of Africa has more than doubled, and the horrors of transportation have been beyond all calculation increased. Instead of 70,000 beings transported from Africa, which was the total amount of negroes sent from that country in 1807, there are now from 150,000 to 250,000 taken to supply the transatlantic slave markets; and, in consequence of this trade, from 250,000 to 300,000 are inured on the soil of their birth. Thus it is computed by Mr. Buxton, (and not by one process only, but by five processes, instituted by him for the purpose of arriving at an accurate conclusion on the subject,) that half a million yearly are either slaughtered or enslaved, to supply the slave markets of America. These are inured during the time of seizure, in the predatory wars that are waged between chief and chief, tribe and tribe, nation and nation; or on the march from the interior down to the coast, during which it is estimated that not less than thirty per cent. perish—or, on the middle passage between the shores of Africa and Rio Janciro, or the Havana, or Texas, or some of the rivers of the United States of America—or during the sufferings which characterize the period of “seasoning,” as it is called, while being initiated into the sufferings and the sorrows of their enslaved condition. And it is estimated, also, that at all times there are not fewer than twenty thousand human beings sailing over the Atlantic, from the land of their nativity to the distant scenes of bondage and suffering for which they are destined. Then allow me to draw your attention for a moment to another slave trade, which is carried on in the United States of America, and which is not far inferior in the blackness of its character to the slave trade which I have just adverted to. Mr. Middleton, in a speech to Congress in 1819, declared that thirteen thousand Africans were annually smuggled into the Southern states, notwithstanding the distinct prohibition of the trade since 1808—that furtively, illegally, and as contraband articles of trade, thirteen thousand slaves are annually imported into the Southern rivers of that country. And Miss Martincau, in her interesting work on “Society in America,” has also stated, on the authority of a large slaveholder, that not fewer than fifteen thousand are thus, contrary to law, annually introduced into the United States of America. This would give to every census of the black population of the United States an addition to the extent of 150,000, and may, to this extent, account for the increase in the slave population in that country, which is always taken by the Americans themselves to be a full and sufficient proof of the more kindly treatment of their negroes, compared with the treatment of negroes in other slave countries of the world.

But, besides this, there is an inland slave trade going on between the north-eastern and the south-western slave states. This is variously estimated. It appears, however, from the very best authority, that during the year 1836, no fewer than one hundred and fifty thousand negroes were removed from the one state of Virginia (one of the older, and now a slave-rearing state,) to the southern and south-western

states, for the purpose of being there engaged in the cultivation of cotton and sugar. Forty thousand of these were sold to negro traders, who travel for the purpose of buying slaves, from the more northern of the southern states, while the rest were carried out of the state by their masters, who preferred to emigrate to the more distant states, there to realize a larger amount of profit by these human beings. Then there is also a flourishing trade going on between Texas and the more northern of the southern states; so that between the trade overland, and by way of the sea, hundreds and thousands of human beings are changing hands, and changing hands for the purpose of enabling the thriving cotton planters of America to enlarge their operations, and to carry on a more extensive trade with the different nations of Europe. Then with regard to Africa (returning to that country for a moment), it is estimated by Mr. Buxton, that, in addition to the slaughter of two hundred and fifty thousand human beings for the purpose of obtaining one hundred and fifty thousand for the markets of Christian states, about one hundred thousand are either carried into captivity or slaughtered, in consequence of the trade that is carried on between the natives of Africa and certain Mahometan nations, with whom they trade in these commodities.

Now, sirs, you may ask who are the parties that, in the year 1839, carry on so God-defying a traffic as this? who participate in the profits and in the guilt of such a system as this? I answer, almost every Christian nation in the world. I answer, republican *America*, holding two millions and a half of her children in bondage; importing from fifteen to twenty thousand into her southern states; carrying on a traffic in slaves between state and state, to the amount of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand *per annum*; building ships for the trade, and sending the most fleet-sailing vessels in the world from her dock-yards, to sail upon the Atlantic in this most cruel and lawless trade. I answer again, that *England* nourishes, and feeds, and sustains this trade. We, the people of this country in which I stand, supply the slave-traders of Brazil with the inferior cotton goods with which they trade in slaves on the shores of Western Africa. More than £250,000 sterling are every year expended in the purchase of our manufactures, that those manufactures may be exported to Africa, and there be the medium of barter by the white trader on the shore, with the chief who captures his fellow-men, that he may obtain with them the articles of luxury or necessity which he seeks. *Spain*, too, is very largely engaged in this traffic. It is true that we have a treaty with that country—one of the most distinct and absolute treaties ever entered into between one country and another; but, notwithstanding that treaty, the whole practice of that country upon the subject of slavery and the slave trade is an impudent fraud. Cuba is one of the greatest slave markets in the world. Havana, the great port of that island, is one of the most extensive depôts for the sale of human beings on the face of the globe: and *Portugal* absolutely supplies the slave traders of the world with flags and papers for stipulated sums, and is the great mistress and carrier of slaves for all the markets of the civilized world. Thus, then, we find that the most polished, the most Christian, the most free countries of the world are at this hour confederated together to rob Africa of her children, and to hold in perpetual bondage more than six millions of the human family.

Now, all means have been adopted which promise either to check or destroy this traffic. Treaties without number have been signed; compensation money has been poured out with prodigality; colonies have been planted; military stations have been established; ships of war have been sent out; head-money has been given to seamen to stimulate their courage, and to keep alive their vigilance in the abolition of the slave trade; courts of mixed commission have been formed at the various ports with which we have connection; and slave-vessels have been condemned when found in the traffic. It has cost this country, since 1807, when the foreign slave trade was abolished by law, more than twenty millions of pounds sterling, altogether exclusive of the twenty millions given to the West India planters, under the name of compensation for the loss of the services of their liberated slaves. And what has been the consequence? All these means, all these measures, have failed. Not only has the trade not been checked, but it has more than doubled since we abolished it ourselves. Not only have the horrors of the middle passage not been diminished, but they have been incalculably augmented. Fleetness of passage being the great object, as many human beings as it was possible to cram into the hold of a slave-vessel have been put therein; and thus disease, and madness, and despair, have generally slaughtered from one-third to one-half of those who were put on board the vessel on the shores of Africa.

Now, how are we to hope to put down this traffic? By our correspondence and diplomatic intercourse with the nations of the world? How long, in the opinion of the most sanguine individual, will it be ere a confederacy of all the nations, now engaged in this traffic, shall be witnessed for the purpose of putting down the odious trade? Will it be done in fifty years? Grant that, in half a century, we may behold the nations of Europe and America united—the heads of their governments united—to put down this trade; yet, from eleven to *twenty millions* would have perished during that time. But not only is such a confederacy hopeless, but a confederacy of nations, if it could be obtained, would be useless. The motive would exist; the means would exist; the premium would be offered; the market would be open; the fruits of slave labour would be demanded; and, notwithstanding money might be given, and treaties signed, and congresses of nations might be held, and solemn vows be mutually plighted, as in the cases of Spain, of the United States, and of Portugal; the dictates of humanity, the requirements of justice, the laws of God, and the laws of nations would be set at defiance; and men, in thousands, would be found wicked enough, bold enough, and cunning enough, to engage in this traffic; and Africa would still be as largely pillaged of her children as she is now, because the means adopted would be ineffectual, depending upon the sincerity and good faith of men, not only those who immediately sign the treaties in question, but upon all those who were beneath them, without whose co-operation, fidelity, and assistance, it would be impossible to accomplish the object thus honourably and sincerely sought. It is plain, therefore, that all mere diplomatic and political instrumentalities have failed; and it is equally plain that they are doomed to fail, throughout all succeeding years and ages. You must find, therefore, some other means of putting down this trade. And what remains? It is said we must influence the literature of Europe; we must put this trade under the ban; we must expose it to

the scorn and execration of the world. I freely grant that this ought to be done. To some extent it has been done for thirty years. By the consent of several Christian nations, it has been regarded and denominated as a most wicked and unlawful traffic; but still the trade has gone on. It is said we must bring our religious influence to bear upon those nations who carry on the traffic. I freely grant that this instrumentality ought to be, and to some extent has been employed. We have brought our religious influence to bear, in a great measure, upon this question. Certain religious bodies in this country have laboured, and not unsuccessfully, to impress upon corresponding bodies on the other side of the Atlantic, the duty and the necessity of abolishing this traffic; and, as far as more than one of these bodies is concerned, the traffic has been abolished. But no fewer slaves have been held, no fewer cruelties have been perpetrated, and no less an amount of produce has been reared by unpaid labour, and the sweat of enslaved human beings. It has been said, we must unite the services of the friends of freedom throughout the world, in behalf of the slave. I agree that this should be done; I hope it soon will be done; but if they only fix upon those means which have been hitherto used, if they try none but those instrumentalities which, up to this moment, have been advocated and put into practice, they will still fail to reach the fountain head and source of this most abominable system.

But, sirs, I ask if all the means to which I have referred were resorted to, and if they were in the course of prosecution with the hope of success, if we did nothing more, should we as a nation (I speak now of Great Britain) be consistent; should we have any right to call upon God to bless our agency, if we did nothing more? Have we nothing to leave undone in this matter, as well as to do? Is there not something we should shun, as well as something we should pursue? Is there not something we should cautiously and unitedly avoid, as dishonourable, as fostering this trade in mankind; as well as many things we should do, in order to render the system odious and disreputable? I think there is; and I do not hesitate to say that, when our remonstrances shall be heard—when our epistles shall be widely read—when our literature shall receive an abolition complexion—when our instrumentalities, merely moral, shall produce a certain effect upon the minds and reasoning faculties of those who are engaged in upholding the systems of slavery and the slave trade—if we have, up to that hour, done nothing more—if, in a word, we have neglected that which I shall shortly point out as our duty to do—we shall become the taunt, and bye-word, and hissing of the nations of the world. For, to make those remonstrances powerful—to render our conduct in other respects sincere and consistent—we shall be called upon by the slave, and by his master, and by every sober-minded and rational man on the face of the world, to withdraw our direct and indirect influence and support from the system; to “touch not, taste not, handle not, the unclean thing.” For what is the fact at this hour? Why that, but for the nourishment derived from this country, there would be now no slavery in the United States. But for the direct and continued support given by successive governments to the slavery of the West Indies, slavery in our colonies would have died a natural death many years ago. It is our infatuated attachment to slave grown produce, rather than that of free labor, that has kept up slavery in

our own colonies so long, and that still keeps up slavery in other parts of the world. My friends, if we send our remonstrances to the United States of America, under present circumstances, what can we expect—but that they will come back upon us repudiated and contemned, as the offspring of a most spurious and hypocritical philanthropy? When we utter the voice of expostulation to America, she may, with much reason, reply, "Base hypocrites; cease your remonstrances, your cotton smells of blood." How can we call ourselves sincere, if we waste now and then a quire of paper, or give now and then an hour, or an evening, to the discussion of the anti-slavery question, while every year beholds us handing over to those who task, and toil, and lash, and brutalize, and kill the body and soul of the slave, some ten, twelve, or fourteen millions of pounds sterling, per year, for their slave-reared produce?

Now, sirs, if in addition to this evil done to Africa, and to the slaves of America, it should appear that we are inflicting also a direct and grievous injury on the inhabitants of British India, our own fellow-subjects, then will it be proved to the world that we are guilty of two evils, in leaving undone what we ought to do, to mitigate the condition of one hundred millions of the East; and inflicting on the slaves of America the foulest wrong, in that we are supplying to their tormentors and task-masters, the bribe and the remuneration which they seek for carrying on their trade. Now, sirs, I hesitate not to say, that the consumption of tropical produce in this country, is a subject of incalculable importance to the interests of freedom and humanity; and I would earnestly exhort the anti-slavery public of this great nation to look well at the question in all its bearings. The demand for tropical produce is already immense. On a former occasion I took the opportunity of stating to what extent we imported tropical produce into this country; and already, large and influential bodies are petitioning for a reduction in the amount of duties on the produce of slave labor, from Brazil and elsewhere; and it was only the other day that your late representative, the present governor-general of the Canadas, stated it as his opinion, that we could not fairly ask for the encouragement of the free-labour produce of Siam, and China, and Hayti, without, at the same time—according to all the treaties we have signed with Brazil, the United States, and other slave-holding countries—opening our ports for the admission, upon equal terms, of their produce also. Now we know what the desire for cheap food is; we know what the hatred of monopoly is in this country; and I look forward with distress and dismay, to the time, when so loud and powerful shall be the demand for the extinction of all monopoly, and for the free introduction of the produce of every part of the world—that we shall behold an additional impetus given by the freedom with which the produce of slave countries is received into this country, to that system which we all hate, and the downfall of which we all most fervently desire. Now, it is asked by some of the friends of humanity, with more credit to their feelings than to their knowledge of the treaties we have entered into with other countries—that we should admit the produce of Java and China, and Siam and Hayti, and other places, where free labor, and free labor only, is known,—into our ports, upon an equal footing with the produce of our own West India or British India colonies. But while we have treaties with the United States and other nations, which bind us to put them

upon a footing of equality with the most favored nations with which we have to do, you perceive that we cannot avail ourselves of the free produce of the countries I have named, without admitting the produce of those countries where they hold slaves, and grow the articles we want only by slave labor, without a most wilful breach of that good faith which, up to this moment, has been observed both on the one side and on the other. See then the importance, the absolute necessity, of looking to the East Indies. Go to your own dominions; visit your limitless empire in the East; grow the articles you want there; call into activity the energies of one hundred millions of willing husbandmen; and you avoid all collision with other nations,—you improve the condition of countless multitudes of your fellow-subjects—you let treaties remain just where they are—you need no ships of war—you violate no principles of trade—you break no solemn engagements—you infringe no laws of nations—your own ships bring the produce here, and your own ships carry your manufactures there; and you prepare the way for the removal even of existing duties and restrictions. For if we were to encourage the East, and allow a fair competition between the free labor of the East and the slave labor of the West, we might open our ports as wide as they could be extended, and give every other nation of the world a chance of selling their produce in this market; so successful would be the competition between the free and willing industry of our Eastern fellow-subjects, and the labor of the slaves who are held in bondage in the Western parts of the world. I must here notice, for a moment, a topic closely connected with this branch of the subject. It was our inattention to the resources of India, which led to the commencement of that infamous traffic in the natives of India, which our own government, in an evil hour, sanctioned by an order in council. Had the produce of India been encouraged, or permitted fair play, it never would have entered into the day dreams or the night musings of the planters of Demerara or the Mauritius, to go to Calcutta, and hire men to kidnap the natives of the country, and then to be at the expense of transporting their victims to the shores of the Isle of France or of America. But *we* furnished the inducement, and paid the price, by our own neglect of the soil and the people of India. The villainous trade was commenced, and for a time flourished. Cochin, Bombay, Pondicherry, and Calcutta, suddenly became marts for the sale and transportation of coolies; a system of man-catching was regularly organized by the native tools employed in the business; advertisements were impudently published in the papers of London and elsewhere, making offers of agency in the trade, and soon thirty thousand coolies were transported to the one colony of the Mauritius, besides a considerable number to the plantations of Demerara. But for the interference of the British people, this abominable system would have been in full operation at this moment. But, I repeat it, it was entirely the consequence of our neglect of India. Could any thing be more monstrous, or more fully demonstrative of our great and cruel neglect of India, than the fact, that the planters of Demerara could afford to employ agents at Calcutta, to kidnap men and women on their own shores, to pay the expense of their transportation to Demerara, and to keep them there at work, at an expense of thirty-seven pounds per head, when the sugar, which they were employed to grow on the shores of Demerara, might have been grown on the banks of the Ganges, and landed on the wharf at Liver-

pool for eighteen pounds per ton? And yet, Mr. Gladstone, who was largely connected with the system to which I have referred, stated in his letter to Lord Glenelg, at that time, that these men and women would cost him thirty-seven pounds per head, per year, when he got them to Demarara; and the same gentleman has stated recently, that he could put upon the wharf at Liverpool, sugar from Calcutta, as good as that grown upon his own plantation in Demerara, at eighteen pounds per ton, while the latter is not grown for less than forty-two pounds per ton.

But, sirs, it is but justice to others that I should state, what I do with extreme pleasure and satisfaction, that the abolition of slavery and the slave trade by the encouragement of free labour in India, is no new thought. It is no wonderful discovery in the year 1839. Many years ago, that honourable and excellent man, not now permitted, by the state of his health, to engage actually in this and other schemes of benevolence, (I mean Mr. James Cropper, of Liverpool,) that inestimable philanthropist, labored for years in this cause; his pen, his tongue, his time, his money, were lavishly bestowed upon the great work of demonstrating that we had but to look from the slave plantations of the West to the plains of India in the East, to obtain from the latter such a supply of cheap produce as would effectually put down the system that was staining and disgracing the former. I may refer, too, to the labours of Mr. Adam Hodgson, (another enlightened gentleman of Liverpool,) who, in 1826, published a valuable pamphlet, in the form of a letter to a distinguished Frenchman, on the comparative value of free and slave labor, in which it is made most apparent that we had only to do justice to British India, in order to accomplish all our wishes and designs in reference to the West. This enlightened view is taken up, and most ably developed, in a pamphlet sent forth by the abolitionists of Birmingham in 1827. It is entitled, "A Short Review of the Slave Trade and Slavery, with Considerations on the benefit that would arise from the Cultivation of Tropical Productions by Free Labor." I beg your attention to one or two short paragraphs from this valuable pamphlet, inasmuch as they, with singular distinctness, set forth the doctrines which I have been laboring to diffuse on this great question:—

"Let it not," says this well-written pamphlet, "for one moment be forgotten, that the people of England are the supporters of slavery; and that, by a large annual pecuniary sacrifice, they not only uphold it in all its unmitigated malignity, but prevent the operation of a principle which would soon terminate its existence."

The pamphlet then proceeds to discuss the subject at considerable length, and demonstrates that the encouragement of East India produce, would effect the downfall of slavery and the slave trade all over the world. In reference to the growth of indigo, the only experiment which had been fairly tried up to that time, the author says:—

"Forty years ago, little or no indigo was exported from British India: The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave labor."

I beg especial attention to these facts; because what is here said of indigo, will hold equally true with respect to cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco.

"A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance,

yet, the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such, indeed, has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling free labor into action, that, notwithstanding the enormous freights (five times their present rate) which, for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market indigo grown by slaves; until, at length, with the help of the free trade, and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of indigo, the produce of slave labour, imported into Europe; while the value of the indigo grown in British India amounts to nearly four millions sterling annually."

Then respecting other measures for the abolition of slavery, the writer says:—

" Any laws we may enact for the mitigation of slavery can only reach a very small part of the evil. All British laws must be confined to the British dominions; and out of five million six hundred thousand slaves in the western world, the British dominions contain only seven hundred and twenty thousand. Should we even emancipate our own slaves, there would still remain nearly five millions of the African race in a state of bondage. But, as the beneficial effects of the free cultivation of indigo by British skill and capital, in the East, were not confined to the British colonies, but prepared the way for the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish dominions of America, so *a similar competition of free labor in the raising of cotton and sugar, and other tropical productions, now cultivated by slaves, would extend its benignant influence to every human being being now held in slavery.* Legislative enactments may do a great deal to mitigate the evils of slavery in our own colonies: they may even terminate its existence *there*, and it is therefore our imperative duty to employ them; but *if ever we hope to eradicate this deeply disgraceful institution from every country on the globe which it now desolates, it is to the unfettered competition of free-born industry alone, that we can look with any rational prospect of success.* In the case of indigo, the only article of slave production in which that competition has been fairly tried, its efficacy, as above stated, has been signal and complete. It is a remarkable fact, that the first few chests of indigo, the produce of free labour in the East, arrived in England in 1787, just about the time when the first efforts were making for the abolition of the slave trade. We have witnessed the fate of those efforts—we have seen that, although incessantly exerted for thirty-eight years, they have not diminished to any perceptible amount the number of our fellow-creatures torn from the shores of Africa, or held in bondage in America. But during the same period, the cultivation of indigo by free labor has advanced with such rapidity in the East, that it is now estimated to employ nearly five hundred thousand free persons, and the article has ceased to be cultivated by slaves. As far, therefore, as this article is concerned, the competition of free labor, by a silent but sure operation, has effected the *entire destruction* of the slave trade and of slavery, and may be justly considered, at the present moment, to have saved five hundred thousand human beings, *amounting to nearly two-thirds* of the whole male population of our West India colonies, from a cruel and degrading bondage. It is only necessary, as in the case of indigo, to direct British skill and capital to the cultivation of sugar in that quarter, (India) in order to put an end to its cultivation by slave labor, not only in the British colonies, but in every part of the world."

If these be the sentiments of the abolitionists of Birmingham still,—if what they wrote and published in 1827 they believe in 1839,—then shall we have the zeal, and the influence, and the efforts of that distinguished body with us; and they will be as untiring, and I trust as successful, in their efforts to explore the resources of the East, as they have been in their efforts to destroy the slavery of the West. One more very short passage from this pamphlet,—it is so exceedingly *apropos* that I could not omit to quote it. Speaking of the advantages which would result from a better system towards our Indian possessions, the writer observes:—

" What a vast field is opened, by means of an intercourse and influence like this, for diffusing the blessings of civilization and religious light among the

many millions in India now sunk in ignorance and idolatry! While India is receiving these inestimable blessings, Africa herself will advance with rapid progress in the career of improvement. Relieved from the scourge which has spread barbarism and desolation over her shores, she will soon commence a more beneficial intercourse with the nations of Europe. In the peaceful interchange of our manufactures for the varied productions of her free and fertile soil, commerce will arise equally advantageous to both parties; and, by communicating the arts of civilized life, and the knowledge of the gospel to her children, we shall be enabled to make some reparation for the centuries of wrong which we have inflicted. If such are the benefits which would arise from the unshackled competition of free labor, it becomes the imperative duty of every one to employ his most strenuous exertions for bringing about an end of such inestimable importanece."

Again he says:—

"By a determined encouragement of free labor, we may not only compel other European nations to abandon the slave trade, by making it not worth their pursuit, but we may also compel our own colonial subjects, and the subjects of every other power in America, to abandon slavery itself."

Such, sirs, was the view taken, twelve years ago, of the importance of the subject which I have had the honour of discussing in this town. The soundness of this view is confirmed by the experience we have since had; and I repeat it, I trust that abolitionists generally will see it to be their duty to obey the word of exhortation, which I have just read out of the valuable pamphlet published in Birmingham.

The movement, in regard to India, has been already hailed by the friends of freedom in different parts of the world, as the dawn of a brighter day for Africa and the slaves of the West. I have been struck with the singular degree of approbation which has been bestowed upon the recent labors on behalf of British India. Some months ago, we held a meeting in the Friends' meeting house in London; and a very full and correct account of the proceedings of that meeting went out to the United States of America, as well as to India; and very soon after the arrival of the report on the other side of the Atlantic, I received a letter from an American clergyman, with whom I had not corresponded for three years. He says:—

"The other day I saw in the bay of New York, three American slaves. The public papers, in speaking upon this subject, say that there are at least one hundred American vessels at present engaged in the traffic. In fact the love of gain is so deeply rooted in the American heart, both in the north and south, that slavery can never be abolished but by some plan similar to that which you have proposed; and I am so fully convinced of this, that I would be most happy to go immediately to England as an agent, to act in connection with the society which you and your friends have lately formed. It is so well adapted to accomplish the purpose you have in view, that I would be rejoiced to be engaged in forwarding its interests. I think the observations I have made in this country, the experience which I have had by actual residence in the free and slave states, and the facts which have come to my knowledge, not second-hand, but as an eye-witness, might be made available for the accomplishment of the grand three-fold object you have in view—the destruction of the slave trade, the abolition of slavery, and the mitigation of the sufferings of the people of India."

I quote this extract to show how the movement here has affected the mind of an individual deeply interested in the question of negro emancipation in the United States. But, beyond this, I have received within the last few days—since I left Manchester after my last lecture—a long letter, which I shall not read, but merely refer to, from the Anti-slavery Society of Massachusetts, signed by the chairman, and also by W. L. Garrison, corresponding secretary of that society. The letter is written

with a special view of recognising the great importance and beneficial tendency of the society we have recently formed in London. And, in addition to this, I have before me an extract from a long and truly eloquent letter, written to me by one of the most influential members of the society just referred to, in which he clearly states the importance of our movement in connection with the cause of anti-slavery. This is from a gentleman of a distinguished family in Boston, United States, educated to the bar, and temporarily residing in Europe, for the purpose of benefitting, if possible, the health of his lady, which has been very delicate for some time: he is now in France. *

"I am rejoiced to hear of your new movement in regard to India. It seals the fate of the slave system in America. The industry of the pagan shall yet wring from Christian hands the prey they would not yield to the commands of conscience, or the claims of religion. Hasten the day, for it lies with you, when the prophecy of our Randolph (himself a slaveholder) shall be fulfilled—that the time would come when masters would fly their slaves, instead of slaves their masters, so valueless would be a slave's labor in comparison with his support. To you—to the sunny plains of Hindostan we shall owe it—that our beautiful prairies are unpolluted by the footstep of a slaveholder—that the march of civilization westward will be changed from the progress of the manacled slave coffin, at the bidding of the lash, to the quiet step of families carrying peace, intelligence, and religion as their household gods. Mr. Clay has coolly calculated the value of sinews and muscles—of the bodies and souls of men—and then asked us whether we could reasonably expect the south to surrender one thousand two hundred millions of dollars, at the bidding of abstract principles? Be just to India—waken that industry along her coast which oppression has kept landlocked and idle—break the spell which binds the genius of her fertile plains, and we shall see this property in man become like the gold in India's fairy tales—dust in the slaveholder's grasp. You cannot imagine, my dear brother, the impulse this new developement of England's power will give the anti-slavery cause in America. It is just what we need to touch a class of men who seem almost out of the pale of religious influence. Much as our efforts have been blessed—much as they have accomplished—though truth has often floated further on the shouts of a mob than our feeble voices could have carried it—still our progress has served but to show us more clearly the Alps which lie beyond. The evil is so deep-rooted, the weight of interest and prejudice enlisted on its side so vast—ambition clinging to political power, wealth to the means of further gain—that we have sometimes feared they would be able to put off emancipation till the charter of the slave's freedom would be sealed with blood, that our day of freedom would be like Egypt's, when 'God came forth from his place, his right hand clothed in thunder,' and the jubilee of Israel was echoed by Egypt's wailing for her first-born. It is not the thoughtful, the sober-minded, the conscientious, for whom we fear. With them truth will finally prevail. It is not that we want eloquence or Christian zeal enough to sustain the conflict with such, and with your aid to come off conquerors. We know, as your Whately says of Galileo, that if Garrison could have been answered, he had never been mobbed; that May's Christian firmness, Smith's world-wide philanthropy, Chapman's daring energy, and Weld's soul of fire, can never be quelled, and will finally kindle a public feeling, before which opposition must melt away. But how hard to reach the callous heart of selfishness—the blinded conscience, over which a corrupt church has thrown its shield, lest any ray of truth pierce its dark chambers! How shall we address that large class of men with whom dollars are always a weightier consideration than duties—prices current stronger arguments than proofs of holy writ? But India can speak in tones which will command a hearing. Our appeal has hitherto been entreaty, for the times in America are those 'parsy times,' when

'Virtue it-self of Vice must pardon beg;
Yea, curb and woo, for leave to do him good.'

But from India a voice comes clothed with the omnipotence of self-interest, and the wisdom which might have been slighted from the pulpit, will be to such men oracular from the market-place. Gladly will we make a pilgrimage, and how with more than eastern devotion on the banks of the Ganges, if his holy waters

shall be able to wear away the fetters of the slave. God speed the progress of your society! May it soon find in its ranks the whole phalanx of sacred and veteran abolitionists! No single, divided effort, but a united one, to grapple with the wealth, influence, and power, embattled against you. Is it not Schiller who says:—‘ Divide the thunder into single notes, and it becomes a lullaby for children: but pour it forth in one quick peal, and the royal sound shall shake the heavens?’ So may it be with you; and God grant that, without waiting for the ‘United States to be consistent’—before our ears are dust, the jubilee of emancipated millions may reach us from Mexico to the Potomac, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains!’

The economical bearings of the anti-slavery question cannot be too closely studied by the abolitionists of the present day. If the question of free labor was important while slavery existed in our own colonies, it is doubly so now, that we are called to act upon the slavery of other countries. We doubtless have it in our power to shake to the foundations those institutions of oppression, which owe their existence to the pecuniary stimulus offered to the employment of coerced labour, by bringing into direct competition the products of free culture in British India. While our literature, our religious appeals, and our political treaties, are putting under the ban systems that are a disgrace to all concerned in their continuance, it is to the silent but sure operation of the competition I have referred to, that we must look for the withdrawal of those motives which will otherwise be found to prevail, in spite of every other instrumentality. On this vitally important branch of the subject, I will to-night refer to the opinions of a party, perhaps, better qualified to judge of the comparative value of various agencies now in use, than any other—I mean the abolitionists of the United States. They have the best opportunities of judging of the results of the various means that are employed to effect the downfall of slavery—more particularly of those which are employed on this side of the water. Let us, then, attend to what they say respecting the relation in which we stand to the foul system which they are seeking to destroy. Let us see what their views are, concerning the probable results of a mild and fostering system of government in the East, and the encouragement of free labour tropical produce by the consumers of this country. In the preface to the first American edition of the late work of Mr. Buxton on the Slave Trade, I find the following remarks and quotation:—

“ By a vigorous and united effort, the slave cursed cotton and rice of America might be excluded from British ports, to give place to the rice of Patna, and the cotton of Bengal. Our friends on the other side of the water have been reminded of their power and responsibility in this matter by one of their bitterest enemies, the slave proprietor Gladstone, who resisted, in the British parliament to the last, every measure of emancipation. In his speech on the 30th of March, 1838, against the abolition of the apprenticeship system, he thus taunted his zealous opponents:—‘ You (said the honourable gentleman) who are so sick with apprenticeship in the West Indies—*you* who cannot wait for twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free, are you aware what responsibility lies upon *every one of you* at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are 3,000,000 of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be **EXTERNAL SLAVERY**? Is it not the demand that creates this supply; and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000 lbs. of cotton, which proceed from slave labor, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free labor; *that too while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free labor.*’ ”

Let us next receive, with the deference due to its weight and authority, the opinion of one of the most accomplished and masterly writers upon the abolition question in the United States. The Hon. William Jay, an American Judge, acknowledging the receipt of some of the publications of the British India Society, says:—

“I have read those papers with deep interest and joyful anticipation. East India reform seems to me to be not merely practicable, but of easy accomplishment. It is obviously connected with the commercial prosperity of Great Britain, and the pecuniary interest of almost every Englishman, and it is wholly dependent on the will of the British parliament. Whenever East India cotton shall either drive the slave cotton from the European market, or greatly reduce its price, American slavery will have received its death blow, since its wasteful tendency can only be supported under extravagant profits, and because the execrable wickedness of the system will be felt and acknowledged the moment it ceases to be lucrative. The friends of East India reform may be assured of the sympathy of every real philanthropist, and especially of every American abolitionist.

I take the following from an American Anti-Slavery paper, edited by an esteemed friend:—

COTTON AND SLAVERY.

“We have before us the Charleston S. C. Courier of the 12th inst., containing an article from the ‘South Carolina,’ on the subject of the ‘Cotton Circular,’ of some of the planter politicians of the south and west. The plan proposed by the circular to effect a combination between the banking interests of the south and the great commercial cities and the cotton planter, whereby the former shall advance to the latter, to nearly the value of his cotton, so as to enable him to hold it until the market is favourable, the writer strongly objects to, as based upon the assumption that the cotton planters as a class *are debtors*. He admits that such is the fact to a great extent in regard to the planters of the southwest—but maintains that there is also a large class in the south, who are not in debt, and stand in no need of bank *advances* to enable them to anticipate their annual income of cotton. He enquires somewhat significantly whether a combination to *keep up* the price of cotton would not almost necessarily produce combinations to *keep it down*, and suggests whether it might not make it the interest of consumers in France and Great Britain to *encourage and foster the production of cotton out of the United States* and beyond the reach of such combinations of banks and planters as are contemplated in the ‘Cotton Circular.’

“The concluding portion of the article is worthy of attention, as it may furnish the friends of emancipation with some hints as to the *great obstacle* now in the way of their object.

“The southern planter, if he confines himself to planting, *without speculation*, asks no aid from banks—his cotton will be his passport through the commercial world. By the blessing of Heaven, he is enabled to raise the noblest weed that was ever given for the comfort of the human family—a weed, destined to make a new era in modern commerce, if those who raise it have spirit and virtue enough to scorn and defy the banking and speculative quacks of the day. *I have no idea that the slave-holding race could maintain their liberty or independence for five years without cotton.* It is that which gives us our energy, our enterprise, *our intelligence!* and *commands* the respect of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look with devotion to his Nile, as the source of the power and wealth of Egypt: the pilgrim and inhabitant of the Holy Land, may bathe in the sacred Jordan, and take comfort from the belief that he has washed away his sins—the Hindoo may worship the Lotus, under an idea that Vishnu created Bramah from its unfolded flowers: but a genuine *slave holder in South Carolina*, will ever look with reverence to the cotton plant, as the source of his *POWER* and his *liberty*. All the parchments upon earth could never protect him from the grasping avarice and *financial fury* of modern society. If he expects to preserve the *PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS* of his country, and *transmit them to posterity*, he must teach his children to hold the *cotton plant in one hand, and the sword in the other*, ever ready to defend it. *A COTTON PLANTER.*”

“We hope the above paragraph will meet the eyes of British abolitionists. It will show them that they have a mighty responsibility in the question of the

speedy termination or indefinite extension and perpetuation of American slavery. Cotton is now the great anti-abolition influence of this country. In whatever shape opposition to the cause of emancipation manifests itself—whether in the Church or the State—in a mercantile or ecclesiastical association—it may be traced directly back to the cotton-bale. Were English and French manufacturers supplied with Indian or Egyptian cotton, the demand for slaves from Virginia and Maryland would cease—the growers of men and women for the cotton-planting region would find no market for their human staple—and, as a consequence, slavery would be unprofitable, and as another consequence Virginia statesmen would begin to believe with Thomas Jefferson, “that all men are created equal;” and Virginia divines—the Plummers and the Hills—would very soon discover that slavery is incompatible with genuine Presbyterianism, whether of the old or the new school. *Slavery now lies entrenched behind its cotton-bags*—like General Jackson at New Orleans; and the efforts of British or even American abolitionists to dislodge it by moral suasion, we fear will prove as ineffectual as those of General Packenham, to force the cotton barricades of the American camp, on the 8th January, 1816. *We call, then, upon the abolitionists of Great Britain, to urge their government to foster and promote, to the extent of its power, the cultivation of cotton in the Indies.* By so doing they will promote the true interest of their own country—they will confer an incalculable benefit upon ours—they will lift the crushed millions of India from their degradation—and strike off the chains from three millions of American slaves.

“The present annual product of cotton in Asia is estimated at 190,000,000 pounds: that in Egypt at about 30,000,000. It is stated by Dr. Bowring of England, that the slave trade which has heretofore desolated one of the finest cotton tracts in the world—the confluence of the Blue and White Nile—has been prohibited by Mehemet Ali; and that from henceforth the cultivation will go on without interruption. In this tract the finest cotton is found growing in the woods, uncultured by human hands. In the British possessions of the East, no longer weighed down by the monopoly of the East India Company, but open to enterprize, the cotton cultivation must necessarily receive a favourable impulse. **WE CONFESS THAT ONE OF OUR MAIN RELIANCES, UNDER GOD, FOR THE BLOODLESS TERMINATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY IS THE INCREASE OF COTTON CULTIVATION IN THE PENINSULA OF BRITISH INDIA.**”

In the same paper I find an account of a Free Produce Convention, held in the city of Philadelphia on the 15th and 16th of October, at which the following resolutions were unanimously passed, viz.—

“Resolved—That we hail with joy the complete emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies, and the formation of the British India Society, as events calculated to have an important bearing on the cause of freedom generally, and on our enterprize in particular, for the prosecution of which it will greatly increase the facilities, by bringing the productions of free labor in both Eastern and Western India, into competition with those of slave labor, and thus multiplying the sources of supply of free goods.

“Resolved—That the corresponding Secretary be instructed to open a correspondence with the British India Society, with reference to the objects of the Association; and to assure that body of the sincere gratification with which we have heard of its formation, as well as the important assistance to our cause which we anticipate from its labors.”

The enlightened and energetic females of the city of Philadelphia have also forwarded to us an encouraging communication, from which the following is an extract:—

“Philadelphia, September 9th, 1839.

“While struggling amidst almost every kind of opposition to achieve the redemption of the two millions and a half of slaves in our republic, the abolitionists of America cannot but hail with joy every institution founded upon righteous principles, which promises, either in its primal design, or incidental influences, to aid them in so good a work. That such aid will be afforded by the British India Society we firmly believe.” * * * * “When we see, in the continued tyranny and unabated cruelty of our Southern taskmasters, sad evidence of the fruitlessness of our efforts to persuade them to do justice to the captive; and while we listen to the cries of those captives, imploring us

succour, and feel our hearts sunk within us at the apparent hopelessness of our condition, we will bless God for the British India Society. Would that we could gladden the heart of the toil-worn slave with the blessed ray of hope which has gleamed out for him from across the waters of the Atlantic. How would it cheer his bruised spirit, and how will it strengthen and encourage our hearts, to know that a band of British philanthropists are preparing to fill their own and our markets with the produce of *free labor*, at so cheap a rate as to render the unrequited toil of the slave wholly unprofitable. You have indeed found out an avenue to the most sordid and depraved heart, and should your plans be successful, as we trust they will, your influence will be deeply felt throughout our terror-stricken guilty country. Then will those slave-holders who, when God called, would not hear, nor regard His outstretched hand, pause and reflect; and many hearts, that despised the requirements of justice, and mocked at the pleadings of mercy, and were unmoved by the threatenings of Omnipotence, will tremble when they see their idol *wealth* suddenly vanishing away! Yes, the slave-holder will become at last a *practical abolitionist*, when he reads anti-slavery lectures from his rice and cotton fields."

The following are extracts from a communication similar to the last, received from the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, dated October 12, 1839. The passages I am about to read are striking and beautiful :—

"A fresh chord has been touched by your recent movement in relation to the affairs of British India. In that movement we behold the seeds of emancipation for the captives in our southern states. Let but India's fertile soil give to England, at the reduced price she anticipates, those commodities which are now almost wholly the product of the slave, and where is American slavery?"

"Long and anxiously have we gazed upon the horizon, if perchance there might arise some star, portending brighter and happier days for the captive, and lo! one has arisen in the East, to bid us rejoice in the anticipation of the sundering of his chains."

"What a blessed work is before you! The lifting of millions of oppressed and wretched subjects from poverty, and the extinction of slavery upon our soil."

It would be easy to multiply the proofs that the minds of American abolitionists are regarding with intense interest the progress of a movement calculated to produce such decisive results upon the slave system of their country; but those I have adduced will suffice on this occasion to carry conviction to every individual. Before this movement commenced—while yet it was a matter confined to the anxious longings of two or three individuals, the following earnest and eloquent language was addressed in a letter, by a gentleman, a native of India, and now the honorary secretary of the British India Society, to my esteemed friend, Mr. Joseph Pease, sen. :—

"Who in reality have been, though undesignedly, the greatest and foremost promoters of the slave trade? Who in the strictest truth, are still the most signal supporters, and encouragers of the traffic in human kind? Who are the persons who, in point of fact, render hopeless and abortive every endeavour on the part of the governments of the world to put down this traffic, by creating such a temptation to employ slave labor in consequence of the price paid for its products, for its sugar, its cotton, its tobacco, its coffee, as to make the temptation irresistible to human cupidity? It is not attempted to be denied that the natives of India can produce sugar, cotton, tobacco, and coffee, *in the proportion that millions of men are to hundreds*. It is admitted that they ask no more than to be suffered to produce these commodities: had they been so suffered fifty years ago, it is demonstrably certain that not a negro slave would now exist, *for he could not exist*, either in the West Indies or America. In despite of every prohibition, the produce of slave labor at half a dollar a day, could not compete in any market with the produce of Indian labor at three-

pence a day. By the unerring operation of this simple, gradual revolution, had Providence designed and doomed the extinction of slavery throughout the civilized world. To whose account, then, is justly and directly chargeable the amount of human woes with which this curse has filled and still fills the earth? Who have *proved* themselves to be the greatest foes to human advancement, and human happiness, the world has ever seen? Let those answer whose measures have hitherto stultified every attempt to extend, on equitable principles, the cultivation of the produce of our possessions in the East."

I have done now, sirs, with details. I have said enough to set before you a most glorious object. Three sections of the world may be benefitted by what you have it in your power to do. You can raise India; you can emancipate America; you can redeem and regenerate Africa. And are you not called upon to do this? Does not consistency demand it? Does not your Christian character require it? Does not your moral influence bind you to exert yourselves in behalf of a world desolated, to gratify the cupidity and lust of power of a handful of wicked men? Your national prosperity, too, is bound up in the question. Your love of justice prompts you, bleeding misery implores you, to do justice to India. I do trust, therefore, that we shall not make an appeal, as the British India Society, to the abolitionists of this country in vain. I have shown you in former addresses, that a great article of manufacture in this country, cotton may be grown in India to any extent whatsoever. I am prepared to show, whenever occasion requires, and time will permit, that also as to coffee, rice, tobacco, and sugar, these articles may all be obtained, and to an indefinite extent, from that country. Why, then, should we depend altogether upon other countries? As I said, when I first addressed you, I come not here to plead the cause of monopoly. Perish monopoly. As I abhor a monopoly of light, as I would not circumscribe the beams of day, so neither would I put bonds upon the honourable intercourse and reciprocation of trade and of sentiment amongst mankind. But, without supporting monopoly, without vindicating the cause of restriction, I ask you to be just to India; to give fair play to those who have hitherto been circumscribed and crippled in their industrious operations; and you will at once bring a principle into action that will be fatal to slavery all over the world. The sugar cane is indigenous to British India; its production, owing to the slight encouragement it has received since the equalization of the duties, has very greatly increased. During the year ending September, 1837, we imported from British India 346,760 bags; and in the year ending September 1838, we imported 528,589 bags, being an increase in one year of 181,289 bags. Then, again, labor is so cheap, that it may be obtained in every part of the country where sugar may be grown, for from one to two rupees per month; and there is every reason to look forward to the introduction of the very best kind of sugar cane to that country; so that, instead of having to open our ports to the introduction of slave-grown sugar from Brazil or Cuba—to which I look forward as the only alternative if we do not benefit British India—we may receive from the latter country not only enough for ourselves, but also enough to supply those other markets which now depend exclusively upon that which is grown by slave labor. I need not trouble you with extracts in proof of this, because the thing is notorious, and is dwelt upon in all the recent works published having a bearing on this subject. To show you to what extent an article may be grown in India in a few years, if encouraged, I would instance the case of linseed.

Prior to 1830, we were in the habit of importing large quantities of linseed from Russia, expressing the oil here, sending it out in casks to Calcutta, thence transporting it at a great expense up the country to paint the gun carriages and other things at the civil and military stations. And in 1832, in order to prove to the people of this country that linseed was grown in India, *ten bushels* were sent here ; in 1833, the quantity sent was two thousand one hundred and sixty three bushels ; and in 1835 we imported from India *ten thousand tons*. Now couple this with what I have said with respect to indigo, to cotton, and to sugar, and you will see what an exhaustless supply might be obtained from that country.

I would here state, that on a former occasion I referred to the recent efforts that had been made to cultivate tea in India ; and I fear that, owing to the want of a retentive memory on the subject, I made some misquotation in reference to figures, and I would like to set at rest any doubt upon that subject. Being intimately acquainted with the gentleman who originated in London the Assam Tea Company, and meeting with that gentleman here, he gave me some account of their operations. What he told me, and what I had intended to state, though perhaps I did not distinctly state it, was, that *ninety* chests of tea were then on their way from the newly-discovered tea country in Assam to this country ; and that this gentleman had received advices, that in January next *nine hundred* chests of tea would be shipped ; and that there was a fair prospect of our being able to supply ourselves, in the course of a few years, with all the tea we require, from our own dominions. This fact, taken in connection with the present most critical and unpleasant aspect of our affairs with China, may be regarded as worthy of cordial congratulation. And here I may make a passing remark on the subject of tea, as the fact may not be known to all here, —that in 1660 an act was passed in this country, imposing a duty of 1s. 6d. per gallon upon tea, ready made, and retailed and drunk in public-houses. And in 1836, no fewer than 49,307,701 lbs. of tea were imported into Great Britain.

I would now beg those who listen to me to connect this subject, in all their thoughts, with the great question of the regeneration and salvation of Africa. I am exceedingly thankful that the public attention has been drawn to Africa ; to the present distracted and desolated condition of that continent ; to the extent and the horrid character of the slave system ; and to the capacity of Africa (respecting which I have said nothing) to produce all we require of tropical produce. And, although I have said nothing at present on this subject, I am far from desiring to keep in the back ground the ability of that continent, as well as India, to furnish us abundantly with tropical produce. Africa could give us cotton in abundance ; she could give us gums, and hard woods, and dyes, tobacco, and sugar. In fact, there is scarcely a plant or a shrub of tropical growth, which might not be obtained in abundance from Africa. Yet Central Africa now receives for all her exports to this country less than half a million (declared value) of imports, one-half of which may be said to be goods of the worst description, and one-third is made up of guns and ammunition. Why, the feathers received in Liverpool from Ireland reached an amount exceeding that of all the productions of Central Africa imported into this country ; the eggs from France received in this country exceed the whole value of our African imports ; and the value of the pigs received from

Ireland in Liverpool is three times as great as all the imports into Great Britain of produce from Central Africa. But I cannot be insensible to the advantages of India over Africa. India is a settled and civilised country, which Africa is not. India is ours, which Africa is not. The climate of India is genial, which that of Africa is not. India is accessible, which Africa is not at present. Over the whole extent of British India, and on every part of it, we might grow the produce that is suited to the soil and to the climate, and to the customs of the natives : it is not so with regard to Africa. In India we have no chiefs to subsidize ; no tribes to locate ; no barbarians to tame ; no unhealthy climate to contend with ; no unknown rivers to explore ; we have no wicked and dishonourable trade to supplant. All these things have to be done in Africa. I shall not pretend to guess the plan which certain benevolent and eminent men have devised for doing good to that country. Heaven grant that their plans may be successful, and hasten the day when that continent shall be saved from the incursions of the man-stealer ! But as the friend of Africa,—claiming to be as much the friend of Africa as he who directs his attention exclusively to that country,—as the friend of Africa, I say look to India. Would you give security to Africa ? Would you starve the man-stealer from her shores ? Would you dispense with ships of war along the Slave Coast, and render unnecessary the outlay of the immense funds now employed ? Would you give security to that now harassed, impoverished, and disembowelled country ? Look to India. You may immediately bring your cotton, your sugar, your rice, from thence ; and as soon as you import it into this country, so surely will you stop, immediately and for ever, the demand for slaves. And thus you are doing peacefully, and by most unexceptionable means, without lavish expenditure, without embassies, without treaties, without congresses, without any violation, direct or indirect, of any existing treaty, you are doing that which cannot be done, (if you look at Africa only, and forget India) without a vast deal of expense. Much time must elapse, much pains must be taken, many failures must be sustained, ere we can hope to see the plans that may be devised—however sapient the benevolence that originated, or active the energy that may work them—carried into successful operation. I say, therefore, look to India. If you can but render slavery so far unprofitable—unnecessary, and therefore unprofitable—as to put down the trade in slaves, then you immediately restore to the shore of Africa what she has not known for centuries—that peace of which she has been deprived by the Christians of Europe. Then you can introduce commerce and civilization into Africa, without the fear of being thwarted in your plans by the superior temptation placed in the way of the barbarian chief, by the prowler and kidnapper along her shores ; then you can dispense with your armed cruisers, your tenders and steam boats ; then you may make treaties with the native chiefs, who will be glad, for they will be compelled to do so, seeing that you will be the only party before them, the other party having been dismissed from their shores by the operation of this most powerful and pacific principle ; then will you extend the benefits of education, for you can lead the mind of the African from the worship of Obeah to the pure and life-giving worship of the one God. But until you do this, I believe that you will have to contend with many difficulties,—some foreseen at the present moment, and others unforeseen,—which will arise up and

meet you at every step of the journey; while in the other path which I have pointed out to you, you will find nothing but smoothness and pleasantness in comparison.

We see, then, both what are the consequences of neglecting India, and what would be the results which would flow from a due attention to India. At the present moment we are guilty of the blood of the African. It is vain for us to contend that we are an anti-slavery nation. In profession we are; I would even admit that in feeling and intention, and that to some degree in action, we are; but in effect we are not an anti-slavery nation. The little we have done for the West Indies and for Africa, is nothing in comparison with the injury we have done to those countries: and these views are not mine merely. As long ago as the year 1826, in an eloquent address put forth by the Leicester Anti-slavery Society, upon which my eye fell to-day, I find the following language:

"In opposition to the dictates of humanity, the precepts of religion, and the principles of political economy and impartial justice, we contribute more to perpetuate our own disgrace, than it would be deemed prudent to bestow in the purchase of the greatest blessing. All our plans of domestic improvement, joined to all the efforts which we make for the diffusion of religion and virtue in foreign nations—our schools, our Bible societies, and our missions, justly considered as the peculiar glory of the age—cost us a mere scantling, compared to what is annually devoted to that very pious and benevolent object, the perpetuation of slavery in the West Indies;—we throw mites into the treasury of the sanctuary, and heap ingots on the altar of Moloch."

And this is as substantially true at the present hour as it was at the hour when these lines were penned. I have demonstrated already, that we are paying every year from fifteen to twenty millions for the support of slavery; while, by looking to our own British possessions, we might obtain our articles cheaper; we might send to those dependencies a much greater amount of our manufactures; we might promote the prosperity of the parent empire; we might give employment to our starving and dissatisfied fellow-citizens at home; we might give peace and security to Africa, and proclaim the year of deliverance to the slaves of America.

I shall not now trespass further upon your time. I trust I have succeeded, though aware of many imperfections in this address, in showing you that this great question has an anti-slavery aspect; not a questionable, equivocal, or dubious aspect, but a clear, open, plain, and unequivocal aspect in favour of the abolition of slavery. I think I have succeeded in showing, that every step you take towards the advancement of the comfort and the prosperity of the nations of India, is a mighty step made in favour of the extinction of slavery, and the slave trade throughout the world.

I will not yield in reverence and in affection to any, for those enterprises which are of a religious and a spiritual kind; but when I see men perishing by millions, as in India—when I see them enslaved by millions, as in America—when I see them destroyed and desolated by millions, as in Africa—and this, too, by men calling themselves Christians, I scarcely dare hope that the cross can be exalted with honour or success in the eyes of pagan nations, till so foul a reproach shall be rolled away, and Christendom shall be purified from the stain of blood, and the disgrace of the slave trade. But when we shall have done our duty as a nation, as a Christian nation, as the governors of India, and as the friends of Africa and America, then may we hope,

and rationally hope, that we shall see that great cause in which all our hearts are bound up,—the cause of religion, the cause of christianity, making way among the nations of the earth ; then every heavy yoke will be broken, and the oppressed set free in the four sections of the globe ; and, above all, our own country will be entirely irreproachable in this matter. That this may soon come to pass, let us all with one heart and consent, unite ourselves to a cause which seems to promise so much, and upon the soundest principles.

“ Delightful thought ! Then blessed be the hand
That formed our elemental clay, and made
Us what we are. It is worth while to live,
If we may live to purposes so great.
Awake our dormant zeal ! For ever flame
With generous ardor in this holy cause,
And let each head, each heart, each hand, and all,
Spend and be spent, in service so divine !”

END OF THE FIFTH LECTURE.

SIXTH LECTURE.

Claims of England upon India.—Imputations of Misstatement in a former Lecture refuted.—Further Particulars respecting the Prevalence of Famine in India.—Iniquity of the Opium Trade.—Honesty the best Policy.—Encouragement from India for the British India Society.—Conclusion.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In the progress of the lectures which I have delivered in this place, I have distinctly stated the objects, principles, and purposes of the British India Society, in connection with whose operations these addresses have been delivered. I have endeavored to exhibit the character of the natives of India, according to the accounts furnished by the most competent and impartial authorities. I have briefly narrated the history of the East India Company, and spoken of the present character and functions of that distinguished body. I have not, as you will bear me witness, sought to bring individuals into contempt—or to demolish the present framework of government; but, while I have fearlessly exposed defects, and denounced oppression, I have jealously guarded against the imputation of motives upon slight and insufficient grounds. So far from an endeavour to render the East India Company odious, I have avoided all reference, even the slightest, to those events which in past years have been the occasions of so much eloquent declamation, and so many grievous charges against the rulers of India. It is true I have asserted the paramount authority of parliament, and the abiding responsibility of the people of this country to watch over the concerns of British India; but not only have I not recommended the transfer of all power to a minister of the crown, I have expressly stated my belief that India will only be well governed so long as there shall be a lively and generous interest in her affairs felt by the public of this country. I cannot, therefore, be fairly charged with aiming to prostrate the present government of India, and place the power and dominion exclusively in the hands of a minister of the crown. I have drawn your attention (and this has been a prominent and ever-present object) to the *agricultural* resources of India. I have laboured to show how capable India is of supplying to you, in any quantity, the crude material, and of taking from you the varied manufactures of this country. I have endeavoured to demonstrate, that a hearty and energetic movement towards India—the application of British capital and

skill—the encouragement of native industry—the improvement of the means of internal communication, and the importation into British ports of the products of the East, would prove the most efficient and the only infallible cure of the accursed systems of slavery and the slave trade, now desolating the earth, and invoking the anger of Heaven. While attending to these things, I have endeavoured to keep steadily in view the benevolent end of our exertions—the bettering of the condition of countless millions of our fellow-subjects, whose condition and claims have been hitherto despised, forgotten, or overlooked. For the proof of this, I refer to the copious reports which have been furnished and circulated amongst you.

It is certainly too late in the day to be told, that we have nothing to do with India. Neither as Christians, as citizens, nor as merchants, can we receive such a doctrine. Our religion, our politics, and our ideas of commercial intercourse, alike repudiate so barbarous and antiquated a notion. Those were truly noble words addressed by a governor-general of India, the Marquis of Hastings, to the students of Fort William College, in August, 1820. They are words worthy of a great and generous mind, and deserve to be registered in all our hearts. That distinguished statesman and ruler said :—

“The indigent require a sustaining hand—the distressed require soothing—the perplexed require counsel—the injured require redress: they who present themselves to me in these predicaments are my fellow-men—and I am a Briton.”

Sirs, we have to do with every nation on the face of the earth—with all, especially, whom our laws, our religion, our literature, or our trade can reach; but, above all, have we to do with the parts of the earth we call our own, which are denominated our *dependencies*—with those which we *govern*—from which we draw our *wealth*—to which we send our *merchandise*. If the inhabitants of any of these be weak, or ignorant, or oppressed, they have a sacred claim upon us. They make their appeal—and it is a solemn one—to our pity, our magnanimity, and our justice. Are they impotent?—we are strong: are they in darkness?—we have the lamp of life: are they disfranchised?—they make their appeal to us who live under a government which we fashion and control; which mirrors forth and acts out whatever principles and intentions are vigorously maintained, and unequivocally expressed. Woe be to us if we neglect or abuse either our privileges or our power! Nothing to do with India! Is it nothing to us that hundreds of thousands of our fellow-subjects perish of hunger during a few months? Is it nothing to us that poverty, wretchedness and discontent, cover the face of a glorious and fertile land? Is it nothing to us that the slave bleeds and dies to give us that which might be taken from the surface of our own territory by the cheerful, free, and happy subject of the British sway? Is it nothing to us that the crimes, and the blood, and the guilt of a trade, which rends the continent of Africa and demonizes all who participate in it, may be laid in a great part at our door? Is it nothing to us whether we meet the reckoning which awaits us, calm and assured in the consciousness that we have done what we could, or shrinking from the gaze of those whose miseries we have left unpitied, and trembling in the presence of Him who will say, “Forasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me.” We assert boldly, that we have something to do with

India—that in every point of view we have a great deal to do with India, and for India, and through India: we assert that the prosperity of India is essential to the prosperity of England. Let therefore the whole fabric be surveyed: away with fear: away with imputations upon the motives of our fellow-men, who come forward to read, and study, and inquire, and talk, and investigate, and discuss; let the foundations of our dominion in the East be fully tested—let the administration of India be fairly judged—let the entire question of Indian policy be discussed—let every branch of Eastern affairs be fully canvassed—let the evils that exist be known—let the resources of India be explored—let the teeming riches of the soil, the industry of the inhabitants, the variety of the produce, the facilities for commerce, be loudly and universally proclaimed. If there be grievances, let their number, and their magnitude, and their nature be exposed, and a power adequate to redress them be awakened and directed. I freely grant, I fully feel, the great, the pre-eminent necessity which exists for calmness, impartiality, discrimination, and persevering investigation; and I have much restrained myself during the five addresses now past, lest I should go back to traverse ground, the survey of which would not be calculated either to inspire very pleasant feelings touching the conduct of the East India Company, or as to the character of our own country in reference to British India. I admit that no partial views—no party feelings—no petty animosities—no personal objects, should be permitted to sway our councils, or prompt our efforts, in regard to British India. Large and enlightened sentiments—sound political and economical doctrines—Christian and patriotic principles—these should distinguish all we do in reference to British India. While I concede all this, and also that all men are not statesmen, philosophers, or sound political economists, I maintain, nevertheless, that general attention should be attracted to India, and that great minds should be roused to undertake in earnest the improvement of that country, stimulated, encouraged, and strengthened by the universal interest in the subject of their deliberations. It is to bring the nation into this state that the British India Society has been formed. What they do will be done with caution, but with candour—with temperance, but with resolution.

In furtherance of the designs of the British India Society, I have delivered the present course of lectures. You are the judges of the spirit I have manifested, of the principles I have avowed, of the means I have recommended, and of the motives to which I have appealed. On looking back upon our meetings, and upon what I have spoken, I have nothing to regret but the feebleness and imperfections of him who has been called to direct your minds to so great and momentous a theme.

It has been stated in print, that “it would be easy to fix on particular instances of mis-statement and perversion of truth in these lectures sufficient to cast a reflection of dubiousness on the whole.” Such instances, however, have not been fixed upon—and as I am not conscious either of “mis-statement,” or “perversion of truth,” I must wait until the insinuation is justified by a quotation from my lectures. Let me remind the writer by whom these things have been said, that he has preferred a very heavy accusation, and is liable to feel his charges recoil upon himself, if he does not demonstrate they were justly made. What I have spoken is before the world. If the writer

to whom I have referred does not possess my lectures, or does not deem them authentic in their present form, I am willing to put them this night into his possession, and to endorse with this hand every sentence I have uttered.

The gentleman who has stepped forward to "deny my *facts*," "disprove my *reasonings*," "and, it may be, deprecate my object," has preferred to consider those "general allegations" which I have brought against the government, in order that he may comprehend the whole breadth and scope of my argumentation within narrow limits. The first allegation mentioned is that respecting "the assumption by the British of the proprietorship of the soil" [of India.] "As far" says J. H. (for such are the initials of this writer) "as I can discover, by a careful reference to historical records and existing usages, no such assumption has ever been made." We shall see. First, however, let me do what J. H. has omitted to do, refer to the precise language which I have employed upon this subject. In the second lecture I observed :—

"The people have been virtually robbed of the soil—deprived of the fruits of their industry."

And again,—

"The government has made itself *de facto* the universal landlord—has assumed the right to tax the soil to any extent—has fixed an assumed capability on every field to produce—then, an assumed price on the produce of the field—and then fixed, that from thirty-five to forty-five per cent. of the money value of the crop shall be the tax to the state for ever."

In the fourth lecture I spoke as follows :—

"Look at the difficulties in the way of growing cotton: first, the absence of proprietary right in the soil. Here is the master evil. Here is the great injustice of our administration in India—depriving the natives of the soil of their right to that soil; utterly despising them; sweeping off all the great landlords and all the little ones together; reckoning directly with the cultivator of the individual field, and taking from him at least forty-five per cent. of the gross produce."

If these be not the passages referred to, I know of no other passage in which I used stronger language in reference to the odious and unrighteous assumption to which I refer. Now you will perceive that, in the first extract, I say, the people have been "*virtually*" robbed of the soil. In the second, "the government has made itself *de facto* the universal landlord." J. H. will certainly not plead ignorance of the meaning of such language as "*de facto*" and "*virtually*." In the third extract, I sufficiently explain what I mean, when I speak of *depriving* the natives of their right to the soil, by referring to the principle of taxation, and to its operations as witnessed every day in those parts of India to which I expressly alluded. But it is denied that such is the fact. "Historical records" and "existing usages" are appealed to, to disprove the truth of the allegation. It happens, very singularly, that while J. H. was combatting my position respecting the proprietary right assumed by the government of India, and flatly denying that the East India Company had ever assumed or asserted such a right, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* was putting forth an article, not only declaring that such a right had been assumed, but boldly vindicating it by an appeal to *history, existing usages*, and to the realized results of the operation of the principle.

Here are his words :—

“Throughout the whole of the East, *the governments are the proprietors of the whole of the lands*, with the exception of certain portions given to religious or other corporations.”

Again,—

“The East India Company are not landlords of India, simply because they are conquerors; but because, being conquerors, they stand in the precise situation of the government which they displaced.”

Again,—

“Sir Thomas Munroe, one of the most sensible men ever yet employed by the East India Company, thoroughly conversant with Indian usages, considered the ryotwar system, or that of keeping an account with each occupier as *direct tenant of the state*, the best for both the government and the peasantry.”

Again,—

“Would the peasantry of Ireland, for instance, be worse off than they are, if *the state were the universal landlord*, and the produce, after allowing for the maintenance of the occupying peasantry, were to go to the crown instead of the intermediate proprietors?”

Again,—

“Mehemet Ali is the universal landlord of Egypt, and universal exporter. Indian produce does not find its way to England; but that is not the fault of the India company, as sovereigns of India, but of the British and Irish land-owners, as sovereigns at home.”

These passages are from the *Morning Chronicle*. Here, then, J. H. and the editor of this London journal are fairly at issue; and, leaving them to decide the matter as they may, I proceed to prove the accuracy—the literal accuracy—of what I have asserted. Did I say the state had made itself the universal landlord? What said the Honourable Mr. Fullarton, when member of council at Madras, in 1823? Would you form a correct idea of the operation of the ryotwar system?—

“Imagine the whole landed interest—that is, all the landlords of Great Britain, and even the capital farmers, at once swept away from off the face of the earth; and a *rent* fixed, by *the state*, on every field in the kingdom, generally above its means of payment.”

Let us now take the opinion of another authority. I like “historical records.” I shall refer to the Buchanan Prize Essay of Dr. Bryce, who will not be suspected of bringing false and wicked charges against the government of India, when it is recollected that, for writing the Essay now about to be quoted, he obtained the appointment of chaplain in the East India Company’s service. What says this learned divine?—

“There are some general principles, recognised in almost all Eastern governments, which may assist us in forming some idea of that established in India. The first and most fundamental of these, and that which appears best able to account for the prevalence of despotism in the East, is the principle which acknowledges the *sovereign to be the sole proprietor of the soil*.”

Again, on page 102,—

“Accordingly, the legislature of Great Britain, in framing a constitution for its Indian empire, never lost sight of those principles upon which its ancient government has been established.”

Then, on page 227,—

“To ascertain how far the system of polity established in British India is calculated to promote the advancement of agriculture, it is necessary to be acquainted with the principles upon which it is founded. These, like almost all the principles that regulate despotic states, are neither very numerous nor complicated, and present not many difficulties in their investigation. The first and most fundamental, as has already been observed, acknowledges *the sovereign to be the sole and absolute proprietor of the land*. Another recognises no intermediate class, not merely official, between him and the *bona fide* cultivators; in whom, upon condition of paying to the sovereign a certain proportion of the produce, is vested, by a third, the hereditary possessory property of the soil.”

So much for the assumption of a right of proprietorship in the soil by the government of British India. But I have not yet done with J. H. He loves “historical records,” and shall have them: and fortunately I had not to send to London for them; I had not to enter the Portico, or the Athenaeum, or the Chetham Library; I have entered no room but my own, and that a small one, a dull one, and a back one in Lever-street; and, from the books I have with me there, I derive all the authorities I now produce. When I go beyond the precincts of my own narrow room, then shall I revel in usages and records, proofs, demonstrations, and evidences; and J. H. shall, if he pleases, command me to produce ten times as many more as I produce to-night. Now, what says Mr. Robert Rickards, than whom few men were ever more familiar with the “historical records” and “existing usages of India”? For who was he? He was a gentleman who spent twenty-three years in India; who filled the highest situations under the government there; who returned, and occupied a distinguished place in the Commons house of parliament; and who has given to the world two bulky volumes, as full of “historical records” and ancient “usages” as the most voracious lover of these things, even J. H. himself, could possibly desire. What says Mr. Rickards?

“Our revenue systems in India are founded on the principle adopted into the political practice of our government, that *the sovereign is the proprietor of the soil*, and as such entitled to one-half the gross produce, or thereabouts.”

What says he again?—

“The choice of despotic precedents, the farthest removed from natural justice, has been preferred in our several (revenue) settlements.”

And again:—

“On the principle of Mahomedan taxation, one-half of the produce is taken as the ransom of the husbandman’s life. The commentary of Jagga-natha leaves the whole earth itself to the discretion of the protective conqueror. *The main pillars of the permanent settlement stand on no better grounds than these.*”

And yet again he says:—

“When the British power supplanted that of the Mahomedans in Bengal, we did not, it is true, adopt the sanguinary part of their creed; but from the impure fountain of their financial system did we, to our shame, claim the inheritance to a right to seize upon half the gross produce of the land as a tax; and wherever our arms have triumphed, we have invariably proclaimed this savage right; coupling it at the same time with the *senseless doctrine of the proprietary right to these lands being also vested in the sovereign*, in virtue of the right of conquest.”

Such is the evidence of one of the most enlightened and just-

minded men that ever adorned the service of the East India Company.

But it might appear to be unjust on my part, or at least a symptom of inability, if I did not notice the authority introduced into J. H.'s letter, for the purpose of showing that my position is wrong. He refers to a recent work of Mr. John Crawfurd's, on the operation of the system of taxation in British India. Let it be well remembered, that the ground from which it is sought to remove me is, that the government have *virtually* assumed a proprietary right in the soil—that the state is *de facto* the landlord, and that the amount taken by the state, is *rent* rather than *revenue*. All these points are denied by my opponent; and Mr. Crawfurd is brought forward to support the opposite view; to show that the state does not *de jure*, nor *de facto*, assume the proprietorship; to show that the cultivators are not disturbed in the enjoyment of "their heaven originated patrimony;" for these latter words do not seem to be altogether agreeable to the gentlemen to whom I am now replying.

The passage quoted by J. H. from Mr. Crawfurd's book, is as follows:—"Every where there exists in the actual cultivators, or rather, in a portion of the cultivators, a perpetual and hereditary right of occupancy." Here ends the extract in J. H.'s letter. The candid reader would naturally conclude, that this passage comprehended the breadth and scope of Mr. Crawfurd's reasoning on this subject, and that the tenor of Mr. Crawfurd's book supported the view of the matter taken by J. H. Of this, you, sirs, shall judge for yourselves. Here is the book, to which I now turn, and read—

"Every where there exists in the actual cultivators, or rather in a portion of the cultivators, a perpetual and hereditary right of occupancy."

Here ends J. H.; but does Mr. Crawfurd end here? Aye, there's the rub. Is this an entire sentence, or the member of a sentence? or does it contain the pith and substance of any sentence or paragraph? Still more, is it the tenor of the book itself? Is it a fair sample of the view and argument taken and employed by Mr. Crawfurd? Nothing of the kind; there is neither a break for a new paragraph, nor a full stop, nor a colon, nor a semicolon—but a modest little comma. After the comma, Mr. Crawfurd proceeds: but I must give you the whole passage again, because you must have its connection:—

"Every where there exists in the actual cultivators, or rather in a portion of the cultivators, a perpetual and hereditary right of occupancy—*so long* as they continue to pay the share of their produce that an absolute government demands of them."

There's a fee simple for you! An authorised proprietorship! Would any who now hear me, call their palaces, (for there are such buildings around Manchester,) or their barns, or their factories, or even their pig-styes their own, upon such a tenure as this? Ay, an "hereditary right of occupancy," but only "so long as they continue to pay the share of their produce that an absolute government demands of them." And this is the opponent that charges me with "mis-statement and perversion of the truth, sufficient to cast a reflection of dubiousness on the whole" of the question I have discussed. It has been said, that he "who drives fat oxen should himself be fat." Now, then, how much is such a right worth? Mr. Crawfurd shall tell you:

"The value of the right of occupancy, or, in other words, the amount of the rent of the land which the cultivator can secure to himself, depends wholly on the character and position of the rural population of the country, or *the degree of resistance* which it is able to oppose to the exactions of the state."

So that it depends upon the amount of physical resistance to the exactions of the state. There is the tenure, there is the principle upon which they occupy. "Occupy as long as you can; occupy while you are strong enough to resist. Are you the warlike Rajpoot of the mountains? Then we'll take when we can get. But are you the docile and timid inhabitant of the plains of Bengal? Then will we squeeze from you the last grain that you are able to give, and leave you no more than what is sufficient to hold your body and soul together, until you can grow for us another harvest."

"In Bengal and the adjacent provinces, from the peculiarly timid character of the inhabitants, and the open and exposed nature of the country, this resistance was of the smallest possible amount, and consequently the value of the right of occupancy—[You perceive Mr. Crawfurd only calls it a right of occupancy]—in the peasant was here reduced to little more than *the privilege of labouring for the benefit of others*, on his paternal acres. This also, although not quite to so extreme a degree, may be considered the condition of the peasantry of the whole of the great, open, and exposed plain of the Ganges, comprehending more than half the population of all Hindostan."

Then, having shown you, from Mr. Crawfurd, who is *not* the proprietor, but who is the occupier, just so long as he can resist the state—let us see who is the *bona-fide* proprietor. It would not have been very far for J. H. to travel, from page five to page nine, ere he accused a public man, whose all of influence depends upon his character for veracity—methinks it would not have been a long journey for so intellectual a man as J. H., who has stored his memory so carefully with historical records and ancient usages, to have gone forward a few pages, where, without even dipping into the new paragraph, he would have found in the margin, "The sovereign, the effectual proprietor."

"The effectual proprietor of the Indian soil was, of course, the party that received, under whatever name, the greatest part of the rent,—and this was unquestionably the sovereign. In Bengal, the occupant—and there was no material difference in other parts of India—was entitled to a share of the crop proportioned to the amount of labor which he expended in its production. This hardly ever exceeded *two-thirds* of the crop, while of lands in full cultivation, that is, of lands which he and his ancestors had improved by their accumulated labor and capital, in clearing the forest, and in the construction of dykes, water-courses, and other works for facilitating irrigation, he was entitled only to *two-fifths*. The remainder, in both cases, went to the state, after some petty deductions to village officers, and subtraction of the tithe already mentioned to the hereditary collector of the land tax. The government, in a word, received, or more correctly speaking, aimed at taking a land-tax equal to eighteen shillings in the pound of the net rental—that rental itself computed, on an average, at one-half the whole produce of the soil. *The state, of course, was therefore, to all intents and purposes, the virtual proprietor*, and the share of all other parties was far too trifling to give them a moment's claim to be considered in this light."

Think you, sirs, we have disposed of J. H.? But not for his sake, but for yours, and for the sake of this great cause, whose humble advocate I am, I will say something more upon this subject. I now go to another authority. I hold in my hand two volumes, written and published in India, and submitted, paper by paper, as written, to the investigation of all the company's servants in office there. The writer is the Hon. F. J. Shore, brother of the present Lord Teignmouth,—a

man whose character stands perhaps as high as the character of any man who ever trod the shores of British India. You may go from Calcutta to the extremity of the north-western provinces, and you will every where find deeply hallowed in the hearts of the natives, the memory of Frederick John Shore. And I know not that on this side the broad ocean there have been found any, unless it be of the same class with the gentleman to whose letter I am replying, who have presumed to question the accuracy or the authority of the statements and opinions of Mr. Shore. Now what says he about the proprietary right?—vol. i. page 182.

“It appears to me that, whatever may be the case *de jure*, government is virtually *the proprietor of the land* in this part of the country in which the permanent settlement does not extend.”

And I have already shown you, that the permanent settlement itself was based upon the most flagitious violation of the rights of the natives; for, actually in one day, by a mere stroke of the pen, the Marquis Cornwallis erected a class of men, who had been heretofore only collectors of taxes, into the condition of landlords; for he gave to them, on condition of the payment in perpetuity of a tax, a proprietary right in every rood of the soil. Now what says Mr. Shore as to this proprietary right?

“It possesses (not by right or justice, but by the assumption of might) the power to assess the revenue at pleasure; to demand what it pleases from the owners, farmers, cultivators, or whatever they may be denominated, often employing for this duty very inexperienced agents, and in default of payment, it offers the land at public auction, to realize the sum demanded; at the same time fixing the assessment on the new occupier at its own valuation, and treating him in the same manner if he fails to pay it; and as the ultima ratio, when the estate has, from such a mode of treatment, become so deteriorated that neither farmer nor purchaser can be found, the collector is authorised to keep it in his own hands, and make the best he can of it, by renting it in detail to the different subordinate cultivators, or ryots. It is difficult to imagine stronger proofs of ownership than the power to rackrent an estate in this way.”

Again, vol. i. page 486:—

“The next case in point is, the extensive judicial authority bestowed upon the collectors by regulation vii. of 1822, the real object of which regulation, let me again observe, is to reduce the whole country beyond the pale of the perpetual settlement to a ryotwar tenure, (see again No. xviii. of these papers, in which it is explained) and thereby annihilate the small remnant of landed proprietary right which still exists; also to search out every foot of land which may be in excess of the recorded extent of the different estates; and to count the fruit trees and cattle of the villagers, in the hope of discovering some additional fund for taxation.”

One extract more, from vol. ii. page 245. I hope J. H. is here to take these references down; for these are all “historical records:”—

“In the western provinces, *private property in land has yet no existence*. It did exist under the native governments; but among other blessings which the English have bestowed on the Indians, is that of decreasing their cares, *by annihilating their right to the land*. I am not aware that any enactment was ever passed to that effect; we have gone a shorter and more simple way to work; we have merely arrogated to ourselves the right to assess the land at our own valuation, and to sell it by auction when the rent was not paid; and we have rigidly enforced this assumed prerogative. *As long as such a system is in force, it is idle to talk of any private property in land.*”

Now having shown you to what extent we tax the soil of India,—*we*, the Christian conquerors, the enlightened and benevolent governors of India,—namely, to the taking of one entire half of the gross produce of the soil; let us see how the Emperor of China taxes his subjects. I have here Mr. Medhurst's interesting book, entitled “China; its State and Prospects;” and on the 67th page Mr. Medhurst says:—

“The revenue (in China) is derived principally from the land tax, which is paid partly in kind and partly in money; it is generally a very light impost, amounting not, as some suppose, to one-tenth, but more generally to one-fiftieth, or one-hundredth of the produce.”

Then here is a table showing the proportion which the land-tax bears to the revenue raised in other ways; and then he says,—

“In the report of the Anglo-Chinese College for 1829, there is an estimate of the amount of land-tax paid in different provinces, extracted from the collection of statutes of the Tartar dynasty, by which it appears that the average rate of the land-tax per *mow* (or Chinese acre, somewhat smaller than an English acre,) is from *15 cash* to 100, or from one penny to sixpence; this, when calculated at its highest value, and multiplied by the number of acres in China under cultivation, will amount to about twelve millions sterling. This statement agrees with the common report of the natives, who affirm that *from one to two per cent.* of the produce is the utmost of what is exacted by government in the shape of land-tax.”

You may now contrast the condition of the cultivator in India with that of the cultivator in China, and you may judge who is practically the best landlord; the governor-general at Calcutta, who sways the sceptre of the Great Mogul, or his “celestial majesty” at Pekin, who is Emperor of all China; the Chinese cultivator paying *two per cent.* according to his own account, and the Indian cultivator paying, according to the account of those who tax him, no less than *forty-five per cent.* of the entire produce of the soil. I shall read J. H. a few verses from this sacred volume now in my hand, the Old Testament, and I will then conclude this part of the subject. Let us go back to the first land-tax, and I think it will not be wholly uninstructive, and I trust not at all unpalatable to this audience, to listen to a solution of this question, as furnished in the pages of holy writ. Let us turn then to the forty-first chapter of the book of Genesis, and beginning at the fifty-fifth verse, we read that,—

“When all the land of Egypt was famine, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread; and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; and what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth; and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came unto Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because that the famine was so sore in all the lands.”

Then, in the forty-seventh chapter we read as follows, commencing with the fourteenth verse:—

“And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house. And when money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread; for why should we die in thy presence? for the money faileth. And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will give you for your cattle, if money fail. And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses: and he fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year. When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We

will not hide it from my lord, how that our money is spent; my lord also hath our herds of cattle; there is not aught left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies and our lands: wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? Buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh; and give us seed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not desolate. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them; so the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other end thereof. Only the land of the priests bought he not: for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their lands. Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh: lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass in the increase, that **YE SHALL GIVE THE FIFTH PART** unto Pharaoh, and **FOUR PARTS SHALL BE YOUR OWN**, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones. And they said, Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have **THE FIFTH PART**; except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's."

The inference from this is so obvious that I shall not attempt to sermonize upon this passage. You can see plainly enough, whether we are acting as Christians ought to act, when we depart so widely from the conduct of Pharaoh, who, through Joseph, fed the whole people, saved them from destruction, and refused to take more than *one-fifth* of their produce.

Having referred to the famine in Egypt, allow me to say one word in reference to the famine in the district of Agra. I have this day been favoured with the perusal of some rough and hasty notes made during several conversations with a gentleman of high respectability, who has recently returned from India, after traversing the district desolated by the famine. His descriptions are most affecting. He had passed through the district of Agra during the year 1833. Then the country appeared fertile and flourishing; then the people seemed blessed with contentment and comparative plenty; but, on returning through the same region in 1838, he tells us that it seemed smitten with the rod of the Almighty, and that all around wore the symptoms of desolation and death. The poorer houses were entirely unroofed, the thatches having been given to feed the cattle, which had nevertheless died; so that cattle had disappeared altogether from the land. He says, that a few attenuated beings, more like skeletons than living creatures, were seen hovering about amongst the graves of those who had been snatched away by the famine; that desertion was every where visible, and that the silence of death reigned. In one of the villages, he says, an old man from whom they had bought a goat during their former visit in 1833, was the only survivor of the whole community, except his brother's son, whom he was cherishing and endeavouring to keep alive, and these two had subsisted altogether upon the eleemosynary bounty of travellers. The courier of Lord Auckland had informed this gentleman, that, when the governor-general passed through that part of the country, the roads were lined on either side with heaps of dead bodies, and that they had not unfrequently to remove these masses of unburied human beings, ere the governor-general could proceed onward with his suite; and that every day from two thousand to three thousand famishing wretches surrounded and followed the carriages, to whom he dealt out a scanty meal; and on one occasion the horse of the courier took fright, and on the cause being ascertained—what was

it? It was found to be the lifeless body of a man who had died with his hand in his mouth, from which he had already devoured the fingers. And yet we are told that we have nothing to do with India. And yet we are branded as impertinent, as fanatics, as quacks, as legislators self-selected, when we meet as we now do to open the holiest fountains of our hearts, and pour out our tears over myriads of the human family, dying in our own territory. Must we be abused? Then come abuse, heaps upon heaps; and let us take it gladly; and when covered most with the filth that the interested and pensioned partisans of a corporation shall throw upon us, let us think this disgrace all glory, if we may but by our combined exertions snatch a perishing people from the jaws of death. He tells us that mothers met them, and offered the fruits of their bodies for a few measures of rice, and that had the government but employed some of the revenue wrung from these poor wretches, to put steamers on the Ganges, corn might have gone from Calcutta to the heart of the district where the famine raged, in one month.

But there they lived, and famished, and died. Who is there that weeps over their ashes? If we dare to shed a tear, we are told, in this country, that we are meddling with matters that are foreign to us,—matters that are beyond our conception, and equally beyond our reach; and that we ought to be content to leave the business in the hands of those who are appointed the guardians of the empire they profess to rule. I am neighbour to every man that breathes. No man can annihilate my responsibility. No man can take from my shoulders my own accountableness to the God who made me. I must judge for myself; I must do what I can, little though it be, knowing that he who gives little will demand little; but that, where he bestows one talent, he will not allow us to bury that talent in the earth, and say to him, "I knew that thou wert an hard master, gathering where thou hadst not strewed, and, therefore, I hid my lord's money in the earth." I say to the men of Manchester, "This is your question. In many lights, and in the most solemn aspects, it is yours. At your peril, let profit, or reputation, or friends, prevent you from becoming the friends of the natives of British India. They are your kinsmen according to the flesh; they are your subjects by citizenship; they are immortal like yourselves; they are disfranchised, and they look to you; their tears are helpless; yours can never be shed in vain. Cherish, then, those tears, and let them flow, and like a stream, increase; and let the nation pour its tears into a common channel, and soon that mighty stream of sympathy and fraternal love shall wash away for ever the institutions which bring about those dire events."

Now, sirs, it is a fact worth knowing and keeping, that during the prevalence of this famine, rice was going every hour out of the country. Two hundred and thirty thousand, three hundred and seventy-one bags, of one hundred and sixty-four lbs. each—making thirty-seven millions, seven hundred and eighty thousand, eight hundred and forty-four lbs. were exported from Calcutta. Where? To the Mauritius, to feed the kidnapped Coolies. Yes; to feed the men who had been stolen from the banks of the Ganges, and the hills adjacent, and dragged from their native shore, (under pretence of going to one of the company's villages,) to grow in the island of Mauritius what they might have grown in abundance upon their own fertile, but over-taxed land. The total amount of rice exported from Calcutta, during the famine in 1838, was one hundred and fifty-one millions, nine hundred and twenty-three

thousand, six hundred and ninety-six lbs., besides thirteen millions, seven hundred and twenty-two thousand, four hundred and eight lbs. of other edible grains, which would have fed and kept alive all those who perished that year. Wives might have been saved to their husbands, babes to their mothers, friends to their friends; villages might still have been peopled; a sterile land might have been restored to verdure; freshness and joy, and the voices of gladness might have been there. Now, all is stillness, and desolation, and death. Yet we are told we have nothing to do with India.

Sirs, when I touch on this theme, I forget your trade, your commerce, your counting-houses, your profits; I cannot think of them; I cannot urge them as the chief reasons why you should take up this cause. I take you from this world; I see you at the dread judgment seat; I call upon you to-night, to tell me what answer you will give to Him who will demand of you why you did not succour your brother, if you neglect to afford to him that relief, which, as a nation, you have it in your power to bestow. Sirs, I assure you that I am but on the threshold of the state of things in India. There are many evils of which I have said literally nothing—nothing of that wicked monopoly of one of the necessities of life, salt,—next to nothing, at least, for I remember that I did refer to it in my first lecture. I have not gone into “the mystery of iniquity.” I have said nothing of *opium*. I trust I shall have some opportunity, at a future period, of exposing the whole history of the trade in this foul drug. Is it not strange that the Chinese are teaching us morality? Is it not strange that the Russians are teaching us to love liberty? The Chinese Emperor says, “Why do you poison the bodies, and demoralize the souls of my subjects? Why bring this deadly narcotic, by ship-loads, into my river? Why stupify and steal away the senses of those who would otherwise be creditable citizens? Away with you, vile barbarians, and find another market; but venture not to send your noisome pestilence within the walls of China.” Again, the imperial Nicholas, the liberty-loving autocrat of all the Russias, from the banks of the Baltic, is crying to the natives of India, “If you would find a kind master—if you would tread upon your chains—if you would reap the fruits of your soil—spurn the British lion, and come and *be hugged* by the Russian bear.” I have said nothing of the treatment of the natives; I have not uplifted the curtain that veils the nameless indignities that are practised upon the natives of India by European functionaries; I have not exhibited the scorn, the contumely, the oppressor’s wrong, under which they every day labor and groan. I have said nothing of these things: the time may come when I shall speak of these; but, you will bear me witness, I have spoken of principles rather than either measures or men. I have asked you to look at principles; I have laboured to keep them before you; and I know not that the most zealous partizan of Leaden hall-street could have spoken as much as I have done of India, and have said less against the character of those who administer the system in India. Nor do I wish this night to be understood as declaring war against the individuals who compose that company; far from it. Far be it from me to deny, that the administration of affairs in India is in all respects as defective as in years that are past, or to say that nothing has been done. Without stopping to inquire by what means ameliorations have taken place, letting the company have all the credit of them, I freely admit that beneficial and important changes have

been effected. I refer to them with pleasure, because they prove that the regeneration of India is not an object for which we are forbidden to hope. I refer to the emancipation of the press ; to the abolition of the power of summary deportation ; to the introduction of the native vernacular tongues into the judicial and revenue courts ; to the establishment of a better system for the administration of justice ; and to the repeal of heavy and oppressive transit duties in many parts of the country. These are the main improvements that have been effected ; others are yet in course of prosecution, and I rejoice in the dawning of a better day for India, and will give to those engaged in the work the credit due to them as laborers in a glorious field. But I cannot shut my eyes to what remains to be done, nor will I ever cease to urge upon my countrymen that it is their duty to watch over India, and to interpose for India, till the last Hindoo shall have ceased to call in vain for bread, and every man shall have enough, and every man to spare.

I may just take this opportunity of remarking, that since last I had the honour of addressing you, our Committee in London have received very encouraging letters from British India. Our operations are there exciting the attention, which it is natural to expect amongst a people to whom these operations refer ; and I have no doubt that we shall soon number amongst our most efficient and zealous coadjutors, many of the distinguished natives of India, and many of the liberal Anglo-Indians of that country. Sirs, you will be glad to learn, that many distinguished men, servants of the company, are amongst our best friends, our warmest supporters in this good cause. And we are exceedingly anxious that those who are connected with India in any way, should come with us in this great work. When time and opportunity are afforded me, I shall make the attempt to show what advantages will accrue to the company as a company, by the accomplishment of our great object ; that in all respects they will be benefitted ; that they will rest more securely in their own dominions ; that they will administer the affairs of the country with less complexity, and less of every thing disheartening and disagreeable ; and that they will increase to an indefinite extent the revenue which they derive from that empire. All this is as demonstrable as that there is good to be done, as that "honesty is the best policy," as that "godliness is profitable to all things."

I have in my hand a pamphlet, dated June, 1839, by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, which communicates to you especially, (for Manchester is particularly named) some valuable information on the subject of cotton growing. I am sorry that time will not permit me to give you a very large portion of the contents of this very interesting and valuable document, which is contained in a report of the proceedings of the Agricultural Society of India, and is entitled, "A summary of the success which has attended the efforts of the Society, at introducing the American and other varieties of foreign cotton into India." There are two or three paragraphs so striking, so confirmatory, I am thankful to say, of all I have advanced on this subject, that I am tempted to solicit your attention for a few moments to them. It is not yet late, and perhaps you will bear with me while I take this opportunity of furnishing to you, and, through this meeting, to this district at large, the information which this valuable pamphlet communicates. This document is a letter addressed to Dr. Spry, (of whose authority I have more than once availed myself,) to Wm. Limond, Esq., Secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. He says—

"In evidence of the great interest felt by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India on the subject, I am instructed to inform you, that the efforts of the society in the advancement of this great object, date their origin so far back as the year 1820, the period of the foundation of the institution. For although the early history of the proceedings of the members do not bear on the face of them any striking record of great attainment in the promotion of cotton cultivation, yet the act of forming themselves into a society attests the fact, that the European community of the metropolis of India were convinced of the necessity of doing their utmost to advance this, as well as other important cultures, 'by encouraging the industry of the country.'

"The first distinct measure of operation occurred in the year 1829, when the members adopted the recommendation of their committee, and tendered their declaration, that 'sugar, cotton, coffee, silk, and other staples of commerce, were the objects of the society's *special* encouragement.'

"At the close of the same year, (1829) an intimation was received, that the government of Bengal was desirous of co-operating with the society to promote for exportation the production of articles of raw produce of an improved description. On learning this, the society invited the government to adopt immediate means for improving, by the distribution of seeds, plants, useful information and premiums, the condition of the existing staples of the country;—a suggestion which was at once approved of by the state authorities, who, to ensure the efficiency of the measure, placed at the disposal of the society the sum of twenty thousand rupees, (two thousand pounds) and, in further aid of the society's efforts, an experimental farm was authorised, for which the annual sum of ten thousand rupees, [one thousand pounds] exclusive of rent, was allowed; and four thousand five hundred rupees for buildings and stock for the first year. A schedule of prizes, of which the annexed is a correct printed copy, was thereon issued to the public; but before successful competitors could be found for the whole, the agency house in which the funds were deposited failed, and the money went in the general wreck."

Then follows a schedule of prizes bestowed the first year, upon those who produced the best samples of various kinds of foreign cotton raised from seed; and then they say, referring to the establishment of an experimental farm:—

"The site selected for the farm, which amounted to nearly five hundred *beegahs*—(a *beegah* is one third of an English acre)—was at Akra, a place distant several miles from Calcutta. Active operations commenced on the 11th October, 1830, and were vigorously prosecuted until June, 1833, about which time the lease expired, and the society did not deem it any longer necessary to keep up the establishment, the funds for its support of course ceasing with its existence. In June, 1830, considerable quantities of Upland Georgia, Sea Island, and Deinerara cotton seed, together with a saw-gin for cleaning cotton, all of which had been forwarded from England by the honorable Court of Directors, were made over to the society by the supreme government, as well as some interesting extracts from Captain Basil Hall's Travels, bearing on the mode of cultivating cotton and other American articles. A quantity of cotton seed from the newly acquired territory of the Tenasserim provinces, was also sent by government to the society for distribution."

After mentioning other particulars, they go on to give the result. The seed was distributed, and they soon had reports furnished by those who had undertaken to attend to the growth of this seed:—

"At the August meeting of the society in 1832, the first information was received relative to the result of these trials, and the consequent capabilities of the soil of India for the production of foreign cotton. One report was from Cuttaek, and concerned the growth of Bourbon cotton, which was stated to have length of staple and silky texture; and the interest generally, which at this time appears to have been awakened on the part of the society, may be judged of by the fact, that in the second volume of the Transactions, containing eighty-two communications, no fewer than twenty-six are on the subject of cotton alone. Among these are reports by Mr. Willis, a practical cotton merchant, on the produce of Pernambuco seed, grown by Mr. Hastic, near Calcutta, wherein

the former gentleman estimates the value of the sample within a penny a pound of the Brazilian grown cotton, then in the Liverpool market; the real Pernambuco being seven pence halfpenny, and the 'Bengal Pernambuco' six pence halfpenny the pound.

"From Upper Hindostan, Mr. Huggins states that the produce of the plants from the American seed was much more abundant than any of the descriptions of cotton he has seen in the country; the pods more than double the size; and the quality of the cotton, of which he sent a sample, he desired should speak for itself.

"From Tavoy, the commissioner writes to the secretary of the society, under date Moulmein, June 5th, 1833, of the Pernambuco seed, sown by him in that province, that it is much valued by the Tavoyers, who replanted every seed that could be collected. The people prize it on account of the length of staple, the facility in separating the seed from the cotton, and the advantage it possesses in being a strong and hardy plant, and perennial. At a meeting on the 18th April, 1833, Mr. James Kyd presented a sample of Sea Island cotton, grown on Saugor island, from imported American seed. After careful inspection by the committee, it was pronounced to be the best specimen of the growth of India that had, as yet, been submitted to the society: and the value set on it was from one shilling to one shilling and two pence per pound, which, at the time, was nearly three times the value of the indigenous Bengal cotton.

"While these accounts were coming in from distant places, the society was devoting the greatest attention to the propagation of the foreign seed at its farm at Akra; and the returns of the year 1832-33, show a produce of *forty-three hundred pounds of cotton wool, and one hundred and twenty-eight pounds of seed.*

"From the fertile arinaceous tracts along the line of the Delhi Canals, the most satisfactory report was received. Major Colvin, to whom the distribution of the Upland Georgia and Sea Island seeds was confided, writes, in August, 1834, that the quality of the Upland Georgia sown by him along the line of the Delhi Canal, is infinitely superior to the common country kinds."

This is the answer they give to the question—"Can foreign cottons be grown in India?" I have only had the opportunity of inspecting the pamphlet for a few moments before entering the meeting.

In September, 1835, Mr. Patrick, superintendent of the Fort Glo'ster Cotton Mills, writes as follows:—

"Accompanying are twenty-four bundles [five pounds each] of twist, spun from the cotton grown at Akra farm, under the superintendence of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society; also one piece of cloth [ten yards] made from the twist spun and wove by the power-loom; and one piece [twenty yards] made by the native hand-loom. This cotton I have carefully watched through the various stages of cleaning, carding, roving, spinning, &c., and have no hesitation in characterising it as equal to the very best Upland Georgia cotton; its staple is fully as long, and I would say stronger and better adapted for mule spinning than any I have imported direct from America.

"My own opinion with regard to the cultivation of Upland Georgia cotton in India, judging from what I have seen of it, when tried under great disadvantages, is that, if judiciously prosecuted, it would ultimately be crowned with the fullest success."

Then again:—

"On the 16th October, 1836, Captain Dixon, alluding to the foreign cotton seed in his neighbourhood, writes that the cotton is of a very superior quality, and, compared with the country kind, it is as *silk to wool*."

"About this time intelligence was received of an interesting kind, from the political agent at Loodiana, stating that there was a great desire expressed by the people of the Punjab, to be supplied with *foreign cotton* seed; and that, in reference to seed formerly sent to him, the cotton appeared to thrive better than the indigenous kind, which was not very generally cultivated. At Ferozepore, now the new military station, he saw several plants of the American cotton growing there luxuriantly in a garden; and, on inquiry, it was found that the

seeds had been introduced by a gardener, from the banks of the Jumna, who had procured them, it was supposed, from seed sent by Colonel Dunlop."

Then again :—

" Of the success of Egyptian cotton seed, sown at Nunnore, Shahabad, in the province of Behar, we have the testimony of Mr. George Leyburn, who is settled there as a planter. The communication made by this gentleman to the society was read at the meeting on the 9th August, 1837; and it stated, that the seed was sown at the commencement of the rains, in July of the previous year, in a good loamy soil, flowered partially in October, and gave some small produce in December and January; in March it flowered, and gave produce till the end of May; the plants were most luxuriant, and from four to six feet in height. The produce from about two hundred plants was upwards of nine factory seers of cotton, and seventeen seers of cleaned seed. Mr. Leyburn forwarded this cotton to the society, and mentioned that, besides its superiority in staple, the plant of the Egyptian cotton yields much more cotton in proportion to the seed than the indigenous plants."

Finally,—

" Two considerations result from the perusal of this summary:—

" *Firstly*,—The amount of practical benefit which has attended the unremitting labours of the society for the last ten years, in importing and distributing foreign cotton seed—the changes, if any, which acclimation has wrought on seed reproduced in India—the condition of the experiments made at the farm of the society at Akra:—and

" *Secondly*,—That which concerns the future—the measures which are best calculated to promote the growth of finer cottons—the provinces of the empire into which the culture can be introduced with the best chance of success—and the means which the society possess for prosecuting this great national work with efficiency.

" The utility arising from the society's efforts has been the accumulation of a mass of practical information, small in substance singly, but important and convincing collectively, as showing that—with the disadvantages of ignorance as to soils, the best seasons of planting, and the observance of strict rules of cotton husbandry—the conviction comes home forcibly to the mind, that the Indian soil is, to an unlimited extent, in different provinces, adequate to the growth of cottons that would command a position, in commercial value, far superior to that which the inferior annual of the country is now doing. The fact recorded in the foregoing summary, in more than one instance, of seed producing a *better stapled article the second year* than the first, and the great practical support this truth derives from the communication of Mr. Ewart in Guzerat, must at once still every fear as to the cottons of America, (if introduced into this country and treated with proper care, after the lapse of time,) degenerating in quality. It has been seen, that the first year's produce is rarely, if ever, worth much; whereas the second and third years are the periods for profitable returns. The condition of the experiments made at the farm of the society at Akra are confirmatory of these views. The official report of the home government shows plainly the society's cotton to have fetched a much higher price than that of the indigenous kind. The site, however, of this garden or farm was in the midst of the swamps of the Soonderbunds—a situation by no means the best for testing the efficiency of Indian soils for the cotton culture; and besides, when taken in hand by the society, it was held by it only for three years. With regard to the measures best calculated to promote the growth of the finer cottons, a difference in opinion may probably exist."

They thus conclude :—

" Out of all the varieties of seed which have been sown, there is no reason for believing that any of those precautions so rigidly observed in attaining a fine produce, by picking and choosing the finer seeds before sowing, has ever been pursued by experimentalists in India; but, too glad to obtain the foreign seed in any shape, they have indiscriminately thrown the whole into the ground, and, to facilitate and nurture the rising plant, have both watered and shaded it. Taking the experience of the west, and those smaller spots celebrated for cotton cultivation, as well as what the result of the past has furnished as a guide, it

may be assumed, that the Upland Georgia and Egyptian is the seed best calculated for introduction into the interior and upland parts of India; while the Pernambuco, Peruvian, Seychelles, Bourbon, and Sea Island may suit best along the line of coast. Another circumstance not less important than the foregoing, in forming an estimate of the capabilities of the Indian soil, must also be attended to, and that is, the poverty of the working farmer in this country, which is such, that, to procure food for himself and family, and at the same time to meet the calls of the landlord and government collector, he is compelled to force the powers of his soil to the utmost extent, and, as is well known to those who have resided in the provinces, to re-sow in the harvest-land of March, seed that will ripen in October; or, as we have seen recorded in the body of this summary, three different kinds of seed at once, the whole of which ripens irregularly, leaving the longest, which is usually either the cotton plant or sugar cane, to ripen last, amidst the wretchedness of an impoverished soil—a system which, if destructive to the proper developement of the pods of the common annual herbaceous cotton plant of the country, must be immeasurably so to the success of the foreign perennial trees of which we seek the introduction.

"To define the provinces into which the culture can be introduced with the best chance of success, would be, in Hindostan, to enumerate parts of Behar, the Doobah, especially the banks of the Jumna, and the line of country through which the Delhi and Doobah Canals run; Rohilkund, Bundelkund, and the rich and fertile valley of the Nerbudda. Of the Western Provinces of the empire we have Guzerat,—the seaports of which, Surat and Boraoch, have been celebrated as cotton ports from the time of Arrian downwards; the line of country extending along the Western Ghauts to the Carnatic, where some of the finest cotton, as at Salem and Timmivelly, which India has ever produced, has been grown.

"The last consideration, and one of vital importance, is the means which the society possesses for prosecuting this national work with efficiency. The least attention to the economy of a single institution, such as the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, although consisting of five hundred persons, the largest ever associated in a body in India, is sufficient to show its total incompetency to embark on that enlarged and workman-like style of labor, which shall at once develop the fitness of India to supply the cotton markets of the world, and render the mother country independent of her foreign supply. The offer of a fitting bounty, either by reducing the assessment on lands on which foreign cotton seed is grown, or by stimulating industry by larger grants as prizes, properly belongs to the state, whose revenues would be proportionally enhanced by such an enterprise, or to a body of capitalists anxious to reap a rich harvest of gain by so promising a speculation. All that the society can do is, to the utmost extent of its power, to give its funds gratuitously to the support of this national culture, by continuing to introduce seed, and urge by every means at its disposal the adoption of the measure, the success of which, if pursued on a large and persistent scale, and such only does the magnitude of the stake merit, must lead to a successful and lasting issue."

I am exceedingly grateful for the attention you have kindly given to these extracts. I have not read them more for your benefit than for the benefit of others who are not in this house to-night, by whom they will be read with interest. The pamphlet I have been permitted to use through the courtesy of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce; it is doubtless the only copy in Manchester; therefore I could not withhold long extracts, when I knew the question of cotton-growing in India was one of so vital importance to the interests of this town. You see we ought to get cotton from India. Every report and statement assures you, that India might supply the world with cotton. There are no contradictory statements here. Every thing is confirmatory. Why, then, do we not get cotton from India? I have a letter in my hand which forms an appendix to the report, and what the report does not tell you this letter shall. Why do you not get your cotton from India? Hear what the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal writes to the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in your own town of Manchester. Notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, its

ability to produce every variety of cotton, its willingness to cherish foreign seed, and to give you as good a crop of American, of Pernambuco, of Egyptian, and of Peruvian cotton, as you can obtain indigenously,—the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal says in this letter :—

“Under the existing system of government land revenue, the chamber is inclined to despair of India’s being able to compete with America, and to supply England with cotton to any great extent. An abatement on the tax or rent on cotton lands, the chamber sees no present prospect of government being prevailed on to accord.”

There is the reason. The reason is not in the soil, not in the people, not in the seed, not in the climate; it is in the government, they are unwittingly crushing industry; and taking the mainspring to exertion out of every peasant in the country: for there is no regulating, no stimulating principle whatever. The collector comes, and takes all he can get; the cultivator ploughs, he sows, he harrows, he waters, he reaps, he picks, he cleans, he packs, *for another*; and who works very diligently when he does that?

Here, then, is something for a British India Society to do,—to press strongly upon the friends of India the necessity of taking away this grand, this master evil, as I will still call it, and the British philanthropist may be summoned to do this. It is not the interest which men have in this question which will be sufficient of itself to accomplish this great object. There must be British capital; there must be life from this country sent to that. But the revenue system must be amended, and that I believe can only be effected by the union of all classes and interests in this philanthropic object,—sustained by the desire to do good to British India, to benefit the circumstances and the soul of the Indian. Where the man of trade tarries, where he halts, where he stands still, the man of humanity goes on. Where the one attains his object, or turns aside from it, disheartened, the other still pursues his, laughs at impediments, and cries, “it shall be done.”

Now, it is the object of the British India Society to get the removal of these great hindrances to the prosperity of India; and we do that with an ulterior object in view,—the bettering the condition of our fellow-subjects, the natives of that country.

The means we shall adopt to advance our object are such as may be most candidly stated. We have nothing to conceal; nothing about which we shall for a moment equivocate. We shall diffuse information by means of lectures, essays, the reprint of compendious works, and, as soon as possible, by the issuing of a periodical publication. We shall endeavour to demonstrate, to the entire conviction of our fellow-countrymen, that the grandest sphere which the world presents for the employment of British capital is British India, in her agricultural capacity. We shall labour to keep prominently before the public mind, at the same time, the benevolent object of our society, and to guard with the utmost care against the introduction of any distracting or adulterating principles. We shall vindicate the right of the cultivator—assert his title to be treated with respect, to be admitted to a share in the management of his own public affairs, and to have his ancient native institutions recognised and regarded. We shall fearlessly animadvernt upon the character of the government, awarding credit where credit is due, and rejoicing in the first appearance of a disposition to relax the rigor of British rule in India. We shall

deem it a solemn duty to bring into notice whatever systems and regulations we deem injurious to the people of India, and derogatory to the dignity, honour, and usefulness of the British name. And the utterance of that word "regulations," reminds me that I have with me at this moment a number of regulations at which, as Britons, we well may blush. What is one of them? Sirs, we meet here, none daring to make us afraid. Does any grievance afflict us, or any imaginary wrongs affect us, or any monopoly assail our commercial interests, or do we think that our liberties are yet too circumscribed? Halls, chapels, open areas, market places, exchanges, squares, are open to us, are hallowed ground, on which the foot of freedom loves to tread; and every hill around your own great town may give you back the echo of your voice, when you uplift it in the cause of freedom; and you may set at defiance, while peacefully and legally assembled, all efforts to scatter you, or to stifle the voice that is uttered on behalf of the great principles of truth and justice. And hence we get that which we seek, when we ask for that which is just, right, and reasonable. We get it when we deserve it; that is, when we ask it with one heart and one mind. But may the people of India assemble? No. The privilege of telling one another their woes is denied them. Hear a regulation set forth at Fort St. George, Madras, in 1831:—

"Persons, twelve or more in number, assembling for riotous or rebellious purposes, or for the purpose of interfering with or obstructing the collection of the revenue, and refusing to disperse when called upon to do so by the local authorities, and re-assembling after having dispersed, shall be liable to be tried by the court of circuit, and on conviction shall be sentenced to imprisonment, for a period not less than three nor exceeding ten years."

Oh, if you knew why that was framed, and what would be regarded as an infraction of that regulation, you would not want me to tell you what kind of government it was under which the people live where that regulation is in force. They cannot tell their wrongs; they are forbidden. They go from the thankless field to the miserable hut, and return again in the morning to toil, and retire again at eve; and unless—as even the worm will turn again—suffering and oppression become intolerable, and ruffle even the spirit of the mild and docile Hindoo, he bears his wrongs till death, and dies yet unavenged. Now, I say, we shall deem it our duty to denounce and expose such regulations. Again, the attention and feelings which may be awakened we shall seek to direct into the best and most influential channels. The constituted authorities will not be overlooked in our endeavours to do good to India: they will be reminded of their responsibility—they will be urged to the performance of their duty—they will be given to understand, that our full determination is to carry to parliament, as the final court of appeal, the cause of the injured native of India; and that while that cause shall never be sullied by calumny, vituperation, or ceaseless complaint, so neither shall it be disgraced by sycophancy, subserviency, or a timid submission to the unreasonable demands of any corporation, however ancient, however powerful, or however upheld by the smiles and co-operation of the state. We know, sirs, that there are many causes predisposing our countrymen to look with interest and expectation to our possessions in the East. Within the last few days, since our last assembling here, we have received the intelligence of a victory which has brought under our immediate influence a large additional territory—the position in which we stand to several nations

on our eastern and south-eastern border—the state of our affairs with China—the late desolating famine—the desire for a more abundant and cheap supply of cotton wool—the growing necessity for new outlets for our manufactures, and the spirit of enquiry and discussion which has appeared in the court of proprietors—these and other circumstances operate to produce a general feeling of interest in the condition and prospects of India. These circumstances will affect the minds of multitudes, while many more will regard with intense interest recent changes and events as connected with the social and moral improvement of the immense population of an empire thus mysteriously committed to our government and to our care. I might refer, too, to other and still nobler enterprises and plans respecting India; but these are often dwelt upon, and dwelt upon more ably and eloquently than I can hope to do. I do not, therefore, refer to the great and magnificent plans for the spiritual enlightenment of that country. I deem it sufficient to say, that all these stand intimately connected with the onward progress and final consummation of our highest and purest hopes and aspirations respecting the inhabitants of Asia. Now, upon the principles I have maintained, by the measures I have stated, for the objects I have set before you, we intend to pursue the work upon which we have entered. Our motives have been assailed; and they will be again; but we will vindicate our intentions by the consistency of our conduct and the meekness of our temper, rather than by the boldness and the loudness of our protestations. It is comforting to know that, however weak, however few, however despised, however obscure, however uninfluential,—if we have laid hold of a right principle, we shall yet triumph. “Onward!” shall be our motto. The spirit that never tired, that never quailed, while pursuing the great object of negro emancipation, has been invoked, has been awakened, is now stirring; and what we did for the slave of the West shall, with the help of God, be done for the Hindoo of the East.

END OF THE SIXTH LECTURE.

THE
COTTON-TRADE OF INDIA.

THE
COTTON TRADE OF INDIA.

PART I.

ITS PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION;

PART II.

ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS.

WITH

A MAP OF INDIA,

COLOURED TO INDICATE THE DIFFERENT SPOTS WHEREON ALL THE VARIETIES
OF COTTON WHICH ARE BROUGHT INTO THE BRITISH MARKET
HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY CULTIVATED.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN BRIGGS, F.R.S.

&c. &c. &c.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XL.

THE COTTON TRADE OF INDIA.

PART I.

ITS PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION.

Read before the Royal Asiatic Society on Saturday, 16th Nov., 1839.

AMONG the several vegetable productions of the East, there is none superior in national importance to cotton. It is believed that India, including the states dependent on and independent of Great Britain, lying within that area embraced by the river Indus and the Himalaya Mountains, and surrounded by the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, contains a population which may be fairly estimated at one hundred and fifty millions of souls, and that about two-thirds of that immense population is under the dominion of Great Britain. Its inhabitants are our fellow subjects, and its soil is at least as fertile as any equal superficies on the face of the globe. These nations, for they are numerous, living for the most part within, or on the verge of the Northern tropic, have been entirely clothed in cotton from a period anterior to historical record.

The ordinary dress of a male Hindu, which is here exhibited*, consisting of a dhoty, containing 4 square yards,
of a doputta, containing 8 "
and of a turban, containing 12½ ●

Is not less than . . . 24½ yards, weighing above 3½ lbs.
If to this be added the sary, or simple
female dress, containing . . . 8 yards, weighing . . . 1½ lbs.
We have 32½ yards, weighing . . . 5 lbs.

* Exhibited to the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society.

It is true that the Mahomedan male and female population, as well as other races, dress in different fashions ; but as those who do not wear the dhoto round the lower part of the body, invariably wear a cotton waistband, in addition to a loose gown and trowsers, we shall not be far out if we assume $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of cotton to be worn by each well clad inhabitant. These garments which, as you see, are of thin flimsy materials, and require frequent washing, are calculated to be renewed twice a year ; but as about one-tenth of the population (namely, those under eight years of age), wear little or no clothing, and as in the South, the labouring classes seldom wear much clothing when at work, we shall not, perhaps, be very far from the truth, if we allow one dress, containing the above quantity of cotton for each inhabitant, which would give in clothing alone 375,000,000 lbs., and we may certainly add as much more when we recollect that cotton is used for all the purposes to which animal wool and hair is applied in Europe ;—thus, in India, beds, pillows, cushions, awnings for canopies and ceilings, draperies and hangings, carpets, screens, curtains, quilting, and padding of every description, from the settee whereon the prince reclines, to the saddle on which the meanest citizen rides, are of cotton ; in addition to which, the tents of armies, and the very ropes for fixing them, as well as halters, both for leading and picketting horses and other cattle are all wrought of the same material ; making a total demand for domestic uses alone annually of 750,000,000 lbs. To transport which, would require 312,000 tons of shipping. Nor is this all, for India has for a very long period been exporting cotton, and within the last twenty years actually did export 139,000,000 lbs. in one year. To assert then that the people of India have neither intelligence, industry, nor capital to grow cotton, and that it will require, according to some, ages or centuries, before she can produce it for our markets, implies an ignorance of the nations who inhabit that part of the British dominions, of their history, their habits, and their manners, that might be excused in those who are indifferent to the subject, but which is unpardonable in all who pretend to feel the smallest interest in one of the most important questions which now occupies the commercial community of Great Britain. It is only when we come to view matters of this nature in detail, and exhibit them as a whole, that we perceive how little we still know of India, and its resources, and how clearly it is our duty as well as our interest, to endeavour to develop them and to bring them fairly before the public.

England at present consumes in her manufactures, or sends abroad,

annually, from four to five hundred millions of pounds of cotton wool. The greater part of it is raised by slave labour, either in North or South America; and not one-tenth part is imported from our own East Indian possessions. Indeed, so completely dependent are our manufacturers at present on the continent of North America for the material, that there has been paid one million sterling within the last twelve months, to the merchants of the United States alone, in excess of the price of the former twelve months for the same quantity, and combinations are forming to raise and keep up the prices by withholding the commodity: a circumstance solely owing to the absence of the requisite supply from other quarters.

It is quite natural to ask; Why is this? Why is it, that a cotton-growing country like India, a part of the British empire, whose fabrics surpass in fineness, as well as in durability, those of our own looms, is unequal to the supply of the raw material to England, in sufficient quantity to meet all its demands? Is it that the free labour of India is more expensive than the slave labour of America? Not at all. For while the unwilling American slave, who has to be watched and driven to work, costs his owner eighteenpence a day, the services of an intelligent active free man in India is to be had at from twopence to threepence a day throughout the whole country. Is it that the land of India, however fertile it be, is already so occupied by other more profitable products, that none is left for the grower of cotton? Not so; on the contrary, it is computed that about one half of the land of all sorts, fit for cultivation, is lying neglected, overgrown with forests, and inhabited only by wild beasts. It is neither then the absence of waste lands, nor of a willing and active population; nor the price of labour; nor the unsuitable nature of the soil; nor the climate, that prevents cotton being grown in sufficient quantity for our own use, when, if proper encouragement were given to the cultivator, it might supply the wants of the whole world. There are other causes, some of which are closely connected with the administration of the country and with its financial system, which I shall refrain from touching on in this place; but I hope to be able to show to this meeting, that India, with her free population, may supply cotton in any requisite quantity, as good, and cheaper, than America or any other country can with slave labour. The information on this topic being unfortunately scattered through many volumes, it seemed to me desirable to compress it into as concise a shape as the nature of this extensive question admits. I have, there-

fore, with considerable labour and extensive inquiries among merchants, manufacturers, and even among American planters, endeavoured to render this subject more accessible and intelligible to the public than heretofore.

Previously to the introduction of the cotton plant into the southern states of the North American Union, in 1786, the East Indies supplied a vast quantity of cotton cloth to the European markets. It could not then have been anticipated that the power of machinery worked by steam, was to have supplanted, so completely as it has done, the cheap labour of India; but half a century has effected this change; and our English manufacturers are now producing similar commodities at a price which obtains for them a ready sale in the very country wherein the raw material abounds, and from whence it is brought.

The state of the cotton trade with England in the year 1786, according to the Custom-house returns, was as follows:—

Three years afterwards the demand was greatly increased, as appears from the following Table of 1789:—

		lbs.
Imported from British West Indies		10,128,000
" French, Spanish, and Portuguese		14,300,000
" Colonies		
" Smyrna and Turkey		4,700,000
" Isle of Bourbon, viâ Flanders . .		148,000
" Surat, viâ Flanders and Denmark .		2,000,000
	Consumed in England	32,576,000

These returns exhibit two remarkable features, namely, the very rapid advance of the demand for raw cotton in the English manufac-

tures, and the fact, that 2,000,000 lbs. reached the market from India for the first time, in 1789, through the circuitous route of Flanders and Denmark, and not direct, through the English East India Company. These circumstances, however, roused that body to exertion; though the sale of its Indian cotton cloths was not yet materially affected. In the same year, the Company directed their Governor-General to dispatch to England on trial, cotton wool to the extent of 500,000 lbs.; but so novel was the demand that the commission could not be executed; nor was it for ten years afterwards that it became an article of considerable import into Great Britain from the British territory in the East.

Although the supply of raw cotton on this sudden requisition was inadequate to meet even so small a demand, owing probably to want of information on the part of the Indian authorities; yet the latter immediately set on foot inquiries that led to a full and interesting report, which was transmitted to England from Calcutta, in 1790. An abstract of this report will be found in a work, published in December, 1836, for the use of the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, "On the Culture and Manufacture of Cotton Wool, Raw Silk, and Tobacco in India." The report alluded to embraces the statistics of the cotton trade in thirty-three collectorates, extending from Benares throughout the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, then comprising the whole of the British dominions under the Bengal Presidency. In all this great extent of country, with the exception of Benares and Dacca, a very insufficient supply was raised for the use of its inhabitants, and, according to the extract of the report annexed, it amounted on the whole to 7,217,128 lbs. to clothe a population, since ascertained to be not less than forty millions, which does not allow of three ounces of cotton for each person. The deficiency was supplied from the neighbouring territories, and was wrought into cloths, part of which was consumed on the spot; but a very large quantity was exported by the East India Company to Europe and other countries.

TABLE exhibiting the QUANTITY of COTTON grown in the Districts under the Bengal Presidency in the Year 1790.

	lbs.		lbs.
Bhirboom	740,000	Mymensing . .	quantity unknown.
Bishenpoor	740,000	Morshedabad	6,600
Burdwan	3,708,000	Nuddea	220,000
Jessore	464,000	Purneah	not specified.

	lbs.		lbs.
Rajashayee	trifling.	Midnapoor	68,960
Rengapoore	26,750	Santipoor	108,000
Silhet	220,000	Chittagong	49,000
Tipperah	800,000	Malda	132,000
Buldkul	none.	Hurryhaul	960,000
Behar	not specified.	Hurripaul	Little.
Ranyhir	237,732	Sonamookey	80,000
Shahabed	1,328,000	Keerpay	not specified.
Taharun	16,000	Patna	320,000
Tirhoot	216,000	Radnagore	not specified.
Midnapoor	32,486	Dacca	384,000
Salt district	none.		
Rangamutty	640,000	Total	7,217,128
Lunkiputty	2,560,000		

The report of Mr. Jonathan Duncan, of Benares, (subsequently Governor of Bombay,) and of Mr. Bebb, the Collector of Dacca, and afterwards for many years an East India Director, are the most valuable, and the only two to which it seems necessary to refer, as containing the information requisite for our purpose.

The district of Benares itself yielded 1,857,560 lbs. of cotton wool; while it received from foreign districts, and exported down the river, 17,416,880 lbs. in the same year. This cotton was grown in the countries still famous for the same produce, lying about equi-distant from either coast of the peninsula, and between the fifteenth and twenty-fifth degree of north latitude. It was brought, as at present, from the south to Mirzapore, (a town situated on the Ganges, a few miles above Benares,) and, according to Mr. Duncan, from the following places; where it then sold at the prices marked opposite each.

Place of Growth.	Per Maund of 96 lbs.	Per lb.		
			Rs.	d.
Nagpoore	16 6 7	5½	N.B.—These prices fluctuated during the year from 4d. to 6d. per lb.	
Amrowty	15 2 10	4½		
Hurda	14 5 8	4½		
Jalown	14 5 8	4½		
Gurrah Mandla	14 2 5	4½		

The demand for cotton, both for export as raw material, and for cloth manufactured in Bengal, subsequently experienced a rapid increase. In 1802, in addition to 17,280,000 lbs. brought to Mirzapore from the south, the districts on the north and west of Calpy supplied 25,920,000 lbs., of which no less a quantity than four millions of pounds were manufactured in the city of Benares alone, and the remainder, being nearly 40,000,000 lbs., were distributed along the banks of the Ganges, or reached Calcutta; but none of this supply is believed to have then left the country in its raw shape.

In the same year, a transfer to the British Government took place by the Nabob of Oude of the territories lying between the Ganges and the Jumna. This acquisition was supposed to be peculiarly valuable to the Company, on account of its capability of growing cotton of an excellent quality, and to a great extent.

The following extracts from the official documents, and the reports of the Bengal Government about that period, to the Court of Directors, exhibit the condition of the cotton market under the Bengal Presidency.

“No. 8.

“*Extract Report of the Import and Export Trade of Calcutta, by Sea, for 1796-7.*

“The average cost of cotton cleaned from the seeds at Jalown and Calpy, in the Mahratta country, may be estimated at eight sicca rupees per maund, of 102 sicca-weight to the seer, (being about 2d. per pound,) which is generally subject to the following charges and profits, viz:—

“1st. Charges of transportation, Vizier’s and Company’s duties, and profit to the exporter to Mirzapore.

“2nd. Profit to the merchant at Mirzapore, including warehouse rent, &c.

• “Charges of transportation, Honourable Company’s duty at Manjee, and profit to the transporter to Bogwan Gholah, or other adjacent places.

“4th. Profit to the merchant at Bogwan Gholah, including warehouse rent, &c.

“5th. Charges of transportation, and profit to the transporter to the place of ultimate sale.

“ 6th. Profit to the purchaser at place of sale, and probably afterwards to the retailer.

“ If the spinner, therefore, purchases this cotton at the rate of eighteen rupees per maund, of eighty sicca-weight to the seer, these different profits, charges, and duties, *amount at the sale price to 186 per cent. on the cost.*

“ It may be inferred from the above, and the reports of the different collectors and commercial residents, made on this subject, by order of the Governor-General, in 1789, that the nature of the soil in Bengal, and other incidental circumstances, must be against the cultivation of this kind of cotton within the Company’s provinces. Probably the natives, like prudent fathers of families in Europe and America, never think either of making or growing at home, what can be furnished at a smaller expense elsewhere.”

“ No. 9.

“ *Extract Report of the Import and Export Trade of Calcutta, by Sea, from 1st June, 1799, to 31st May, 1800.*

“ Par. 7. It is not very easy even to imagine to what extent the export trade of this rich and fertile country might be ultimately brought, should the cultivation of cotton for the China trade, the manufactures of Bengal, and export trade to Europe, be encouraged in the Behar and Benares districts, and the higher parts of Bengal.

“ The weavers at present depend upon the up-country cotton imported into Bengal, for seven-eights of the quantity used in their various manufactures.”

Although no report was required from the Madras Presidency till 1810, yet, on the whole, the information then obtained was important, inasmuch as it shows that in eleven large collectorates or divisions an amount of 19,960,920 lbs. of cotton was raised; and if we add to this the three great divisions of Masulipatam, Coimbatore, and Tinnevelly, which grow cotton to some extent, and assume, as I think we fairly may, 6,040,080 lbs. for their produce, we shall have a gross amount of 25,000,000 lbs. of cotton, grown in 1811-12 under the Madras Presidency, exhibiting a capability far exceeding the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The districts lying along the coast of Malabar grow little or no cotton; but for some years previous to 1816, an average quantity of

464,500 lbs. were imported into the district of Canara, from the contiguous Mahratta district of Dharwar, and from Bellary, which was purchased in that year, on the coast, at 3*3d.* per lb., the greater part of which was sent to Bombay for exportation.

TABLE exhibiting the QUANTITY of COTTON grown in the districts under the Madras Presidency in the year 1811.

	lbs.		lbs.
Gaujam	628,000	Coimbatore	much cultivated.
Vizngapatam	400,000	Tinnevelly	ditto.
Rajah Mundry	125,500	Kurpah	1,375,000
Masulipatam	quantity not specified.	Bellary	5,078,000
Guntoor	1,520,000	Computed for Masulipatam, Coimbatore, and	
Nellore	none.	Tinnevelly	6,040,080
Jaghire	none.	Total cotton in 1811 . . .	25,000,000
Cuddalore	3,845,220		
Tanjore	358,000		
Ramnad, Dindigul, Madura	6,079,210		

The prices at which these cottons sold on the spot were as follows:—

Gaujam, Vizagapatam, } Rajah Mundry, Masu- } from 2 <i>1d.</i> to 2 <i>1d.</i> per lb. lipatam, Guntoor . . }
South of Guntoor to } Cuddalore ; no cotton } price in the market, 3 <i>d.</i> per lb. . grown
At Cuddalore, good cotton sold at 4 <i>1d.</i> per lb.
In Tanjore and Trichi- } nopoly ; little cotton } cost price 4 <i>d.</i> per lb. grown
Madura, Dindigal, Ram- } nad, Tinnevelly, Coim- } good indigenous cottons, 3 <i>d.</i> to 4 <i>d.</i> batore } per lb.
Kurpah and Bellary divi- } average price of twelve preceding sions } years, 2 <i>1d.</i> per lb.

At the same time that the Bengal Government, in 1790, furnished its report on the cotton trade of India, the Bombay Government, by order of the Home Authorities, made a similar report. In Bombay, it appears that the Government then confined itself to the native system of receiving a part, if not the whole, of its revenue in kind,—a practice which has continued in the cotton-growing districts till now. That which was received and disposed of in 1790, is exhibited in the following table:—

AMOUNT of COTTON received from the following districts under the
Bombay Presidency, in the year 1789.

Districts.	Produce.		Retained in India for use.		Exported.	
	lbs.	Candies of 784 lbs.	lbs.	Candies.	lbs.	Candies.
Surat . . .	3,920,000	5,000	1,568,000	2,000	2,352,000	3,000
Broach . .	9,408,000	12,000	2,352,000	3,000	7,056,000	9,000
Jambosir Ahmode }	9,408,000	12,000	1,960,000	25,000	7,448,000	9,500
Bownagur .	10,976,000	14,000	1,176,000	1,500	9,800,000	12,500
Totals .	33,792,000	43,000	7,056,000	9,000	26,656,000	34,000

This cotton was packed in bales of 392 lbs. of which two made a Bombay candy, the scale of measurement adopted by merchants in the China trade as freight. On the occasion alluded to, the whole of the cotton was sent to China and other places, while only fourteen bales came to England. From the year 1789, however, cotton became an article of the Company's trade between Bombay and England; but it did not pay so well as other merchandize. It was estimated by the Company in their mode of converting the coins of India into those of England, that the cotton in the districts above alluded to cost the Government, when cleaned, 4d. per pound, and was landed at Bombay at $4\frac{1}{4}d$. There remained, therefore, the cost of freight to England, and the mercantile profit thereon. Of the price of freight at that time, I have no means of judging; but the Court of Directors, in a letter to the Bombay Government, dated 30th May, 1792, three years afterwards, state, that "the consignment of Ahmode cotton only produced from $7\frac{1}{2}d$. to $10\frac{1}{2}d$. per pound in England;" and they conclude by observing, "It is evident, therefore, notwithstanding the flattering allurements held out by the British manufacturer, that the article will by no means answer."

Thus, it appears, the whole of the Company's districts in India only raised, at the time of these reports,—

		lbs.
Bengal Presidency	.	7,217,128
Madras	.	25,000,000
Bombay	.	27,000,000
Total	.	59,217,128

Since that period India has exported in the raw material to England and China alone, independent of manufactured cloths, in one year, viz. 1818-19, as much as 139,219,986 lbs. (*Vide Table annexed.*) But the greater part of this cotton was grown in districts not within the British jurisdiction*.

ABSTRACT of the QUANTITY of COTTON, the growth of India, exported to London and China, with the prices affixed, for each year between the years 1817 and 1834.

Years.	Imported into England.	Price per lb.	Imported into China, including Company's Trade.	Price per lb.	Aggregate of both.
1817—18	40,294,250	14	66,321,736	5½	106,515,986
1818—19	86,555,000	9½	52,664,986	6	139,219,986
1819—20	62,405,000	8½	45,658,008	5	108,063,008
1820—21	20,294,400	7½	20,727,915	6	41,022,315
1821—22	10,626,000	6½	37,268,194	4½	47,924,194
1822—23	6,742,500	6½	28,317,726	4½	35,060,226
1823—24	13,487,250	6½	25,222,729	6½	36,709,979
1824—25	17,796,100	6½	29,880,603	6	47,676,703
1825—26	21,175,700	9	39,870,304	6½	61,046,004
1826—27	22,644,300	5½	50,585,085	5½	71,229,385
1827—28	25,742,150	5½	69,547,764	5	95,289,914
1828—29	29,670,200	7½	50,605,490	4	78,365,690
1829—30	28,147,700	4	41,989,629	4½	70,137,329
1830—31	12,324,200	5	71,260,201	4½	83,584,401
1831—32	26,828,900	4½	63,942,940	4	90,771,840
1832—33	38,249,750	5	61,797,650	4½	100,047,400
1833—34	33,139,050	6½	65,547,132	6½	96,686,182

Having shown how great is the capability of India for growing cotton, I shall now make a few observations on the article grown.

* The greater part of the cotton imported from India into England is re-exported to the continent of Europe.

In speaking of the indigenous cotton grown in the Benares district, Mr. Duncan observes there are three kinds, denominated,—

Rarreah,
Nurmah,
Munnoah.

“It is believed,” observes Mr. Duncan, “that in this province there are 100,000 begahs of land (equal to 33,000 acres) annually sown with cotton,” which, upon an average calculation, may produce 130,000 maunds of kapass (cotton including the seed), yielding about 35,000 maunds of clean cotton, which, at 80 lbs. each, gives 2,800,000 lbs. weight*.

The Rarreah cotton is sown by itself in fields capable of being irrigated. It ripens in nine months, and is of good quality.

The Nurmah, apparently so called from its fine silky quality, is cultivated solely in gardens.

The Munnoah is sown in fields interspersed with other seeds; and is gathered after the other products are reaped, and is probably the indigenous plant of India.

Adverting to the cotton imported into the Mirzapore market, Mr. Duncan observes:—

“Of all the sorts of cotton imported from other countries, that of Nagpore is held in the highest estimation in respect to quality. The cloth manufactured from the thread of Nagpore cotton is reported to last long, and to bear washing well; and it always sells higher than the Jalown and Amrowty sorts.

“After a careful examination, it does not seem that the Rarreah cotton of the first sort, cultivated in Benares and the neighbouring countries, is much inferior to that of Nagpore.

“The Amrowty, though inferior to the first sort of Nagpore, is still deemed to be of a very good quality, and capable of yielding, in the hands of good spinners, fine and even thread; and so are the Hurda and Jalown sorts, though not generally considered to be equal to the Amrowty, nor do they usually yield so good a price.”

Mr. Bebb, the Resident of Dacca, reports that the finest cotton used there is the growth of the district, and it is from that the fine Dacca Muslins are made. Its peculiar excellence consists in the thread not swelling in bleaching, if not used in the same year as

* The begah being estimated at one-third of an English acre, the produce is only eighty-four pounds of clean cotton per acre.

gathered; whereas the thread of other cottons do so, more or less, and thus alter the texture of the cloth. The manufacturers tried the cotton from the eastern hills; that from Sironje, in Malwa, and also the finest kind from Surat; but none answered for the finer webs; and though much pains have been taken, and frequent efforts made to grow the Dacca cotton-plant in other districts, the produce invariably deteriorated, and eventually changed its character altogether*.

John Crawfurd, Esq., in his *History of the Indian Archipelago*, says:—

“There is a fine variety of cotton in the neighbourhood of Dacca, from which I have reason to believe the fine muslins of Dacca are produced, and probably to the accidental discovery of it is to be attributed the rise of this singular manufacture; it is cultivated by the natives alone, not at all known in the English market, nor, as far I am aware, in that of Calcutta. Its growth extends about forty miles along the banks of the Megna, and about three miles inland. I consulted Mr. Colebrook respecting the Dacca cotton, and had an opportunity of perusing the manuscripts of the late Dr. Roxburgh, which contain an account of it; he calls it a variety of the common herbaceous annual cotton of India, and states that it is longer in the staple, and affords the material from which the Dacca muslins have been always made.”

Of all the cottons which found their way to the Dacca factories, none was superior to the growth of Sironje, as may well be believed; for when, in the year 1789, the common cotton of the district sold at four rupees, six and a-half anas, the Sironje cotton brought as much as nineteen rupees in the same market.

On referring to the Madras report, it is found that the whole tract of country lying along the coast between Cuttack on the north, as far south as Palam-cottah, was not found favourable to the growth of the indigenous cotton; and much of that used by the inhabitants was brought thither from the interior.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, in his *Tour through Tippoo's Dominions* in 1801, speaks of an excellent triennial cotton grown in the district of Coimbatore, yielding 425 lbs. of cotton with the seed; that is to say, more than 100 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

* It is to be regretted that we have no accurate description of the plant which produced this cotton. It is clear that the soil, the climate, and the locality of Dacca alone suited it better than any other where it was tried.

The provinces of Malabar and Canara grow no cotton for exportation; but the following letters to Mr. Brown, of Tellicherry, a gentleman who has for many years resided there, and who is a landed proprietor of considerable* extent in Malabar, proves what might be done to produce an excellent article for the English market, if measures were taken to alleviate the evils, and to remove the obstacles which exist, to enable the produce to reach England.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Fleming, of Glasgow; dated 3rd November, 1825.

“I ordered samples to be taken of the few bales from Mr. Brown, by the *Hero*, and have ordered one bale of it round here to have a fair trial made by a spinner in whose opinion I have confidence, and expect to be able to inform you of the result by the *Fortune*. The other four bags will probably be sold at the public sale in Liverpool to-morrow,—having recommended this as the most likely method of ascertaining its true value. Many spinners have seen it; and I have requested Messrs. Dennistoun to furnish you with an opinion of its comparative value, and also with a note of the price, in case it is sold. I have myself a most favourable opinion of this cotton: it is of a fine colour, and very clean, also a fine and equal staple of a good length; and if Mr. Brown can furnish us with plenty of it, of equal quality and cleanliness to what I have seen, it will become a very favourite article here, and bring a higher proportionate price than what the present lot will do, as the value of it cannot be properly known until tried upon a larger scale. It is most desirable that the growth of such a quality of cotton should be encouraged with you, as likely to become a valuable article of remittance to this country, and make us more independent of our supplies from America.

(Signed) “JOHN FLEMING.”

Extract of a Letter from Messrs. Alexander Dennistoun and Co., of Liverpool; dated 5th November, 1825.

“The five bales of Manilla cotton per *Hero* were particularly examined, and we subjoin the report of our brokers in regard to them. Four were sold by auction yesterday, in two lots, as a further test of their properties and relative value here; and one is sending round to Glasgow, for the purpose of being wrought up by a spinner in whom

Mr. Fleming has confidence, with the view of ascertaining more critically the rank which that description of cotton ought to take in the market.

(Signed) "ALEX. DENNISTOUN and Co."

BROKER'S REPORT REFERRED TO.

"The MB. five bales we should call a good quality of Manilla cotton. The staple is too short to take a high stand: it is very nice as to colour and cleanliness. The staple is hardly so long as good Orleans; it has been seen by several experienced spinners, who appear to agree in the above opinion. The value of the five bales is 10*d.* to 10*½d.*; and were there a constant supply, it might take rather a higher stand.

(Signed) "GEO. HOLT and Co."

MB. 2 half bales Manilla, at 10*½d.* per lb.

2 half ditto, at 10*½d.* per lb. *

4

An erroneous opinion long prevailed, that cotton was a plant confined originally to the East, from whence it spread to the West. It is surprising that such an idea should have gained ground, since the Spanish historians relate that Columbus found it on the Bahama Islands when he first discovered America in 1492, and that the Spaniards imposed an annual tribute of twenty-five pounds of cotton and a hawk's bell full of gold-dust, on all the natives of Hispaniola, when they took possession of it. This does not prove it to have been cultivated on the continent to the north of the Isthmus of Darien; but it certainly grew abundantly on the islands and in South America; since, it has been discovered in the tombs of the ancient Peruvians. Egypt at one time grew or received cotton from India; for the well-known and intelligent traveller, our countryman, Dr. Bowring, found the cere-cloth of a mummy of a child made of cotton—a circumstance of common occurrence—and not of linen, as is the case with adult mummies. Dr. Bowring states also, that in Upper Egypt they have an indigenous cotton; and it is asserted by others that the cotton plant is found wild in the interior of Africa. The fact of the introduction of the cotton plant into North America within the last fifty years, probably gave rise to the idea that it was brought from India, where it was known to exist among the ancients. The history of the first attempts to grow the cotton in the United States, which has since

* Surats sold in the same year at 6*½d.*, *vide* table, p. 11.

become so extensive an article of commerce, is worthy of notice, and shows at once whence the plant was derived.

The account is quoted by Mr. G. R. Porter, in his excellent work on tropical agriculture, as given by Mr. Edward Spalding, in a letter written to a friend, in these words:—

“ The winter of 1786 (observes Mr. Spalding) brought several parcels of cotton seeds from the Bahamas to Georgia; among them was a parcel to Governor Jatnall, in Georgia, from a near relation of his, then Surveyor-General of the Bahamas; and another parcel at the same time was transmitted by Colonel Roger Kelsall, who was among the first, if not the very first, successful growers of cotton to my father, Mr. James Spalding, then residing on St. James’ Island, Georgia, who had been connected in business with Colonel Kelsall before the revolution.

“ I know my father planted his cotton seed, in the spring of 1787, upon the banks of a small rice-field on St. Simon’s Island. The land was rich and warm; the cotton grew large, and blossomed, but did not ripen to fruit; it, however, ratooned, or grew from the roots, the following year. The difficulty was now over; the cotton adapted itself to the climate, and every successive year from 1787 saw the long staple-cotton extending itself along the shores of Georgia, and into South Carolina, where an enlightened population, then engaged in the cultivation of indigo, readily adopted it. All the varieties of the long staple, or at least the germ of those varieties, came from that seed; differences of soil developed them, and differences of local situation are developing them every day. The same cotton planted in one field will give a black and naked seed; planted upon another field, different in soil and situation, it will be prone to run into large cotton, with long boles or pods, and with seeds tufted at the end with fuzz. I should have great doubts if there is any real difference in these apparent varieties of the long staple cotton; but if there is, all who observe must know that plants, where they have once intermingled their varieties, will require attention for a long series of years to disentangle them.”

The West India Islands produced excellent cotton, and it was once extensively cultivated there, till the United States began to grow it. Since that period, sugar and coffee have been found more profitable, and the cotton culture has been relinquished. Meanwhile, however, the French introduced the seed of the Barbadoes cotton into their settlements on the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon; and this article

was long known in the market as Bourbon cotton, which Dr. Royle and others conceive to be the same as the Sea Island. The culture of cotton, however, was given up more than twenty years ago on the French islands, owing to a fly, which, penetrating the capsule, destroyed or discoloured the fibre.

Previously to the abandonment of its cultivation, the seed of the Bourbon cotton had been brought to India, and it was reared in different parts with various success. The experiments commenced with the government of Bombay so early as 1803, when it sent home a few bags of Bourbon cotton, grown on a farm in Guzerat; and, in the letter from the Court of Directors, dated 12th June, of the same year, it is thus alluded to:—"The Bourbon sold for 2s. 2d., and the indigenous cotton at 15*g*d. per pound." Of the latter they observe, "that it was not *so much* inferior in quality to the other, as the difference in price would indicate, but it was not *so well* cleaned from seeds and extraneous matter." This is easily accounted for: the Bourbon cotton was grown under European supervision, whereas the indigenous was taken as part of the revenue, and the gatherers and cleaners had no particular object in rendering it fit for sale.

In the year 1809, orders were sent from England to increase the quantity, but in 1810 it was found the article hung on hand, and was directed to be discontinued. The efforts to grow the Bourbon and Egyptian cottons, however, did not cease. The government of Bombay then first discovered that these foreign cottons thrived best on sterile lands, and it is so stated in their letter to the Court, dated 30th May, 1812, a proof of which was afforded by the success of an experiment made on the island of Caranja in the harbour of Bombay. The cotton grown there from Bourbon seed, was reported on as superior to any yet produced in Guzerat. The circumstance of the Bourbon cotton flourishing on sterile lands seems to have been unattended to, or forgotten. For in a letter, dated 17th April, 1816, to the Court of Directors, the Bombay government writes, that the crop of Bourbon cotton had failed on the same spot where the indigenous plant produced plentifully. This the government conceived was owing to "*an essential difference in the Guzerat and Bourbon plants.*" The former never exceeds two or three feet in height, it has but few or no shoots or branches, and a limited number of pods; while the latter grows into a large shrub greatly exceeding, even during the first season, the plant indigenous to the country, expanding its branches richly laden with cotton to a great distance." In order to prevent failure in future, the

superintendent of the plantation recommended and effected, at considerable expense, the irrigation of the Bourbon plants, which made them more luxuriant in leaves, but less productive of fruit. The plantation was eventually given up. On the 11th April, 1818, the Governor reports to the Court of Directors, that the experiment of the Bourbon having failed in one place, the superintendent of the farm had afterwards selected a *sandy loam*, in another part of the district where the experiment had been most successful. The wool was submitted to the inspection of experienced merchants, particularly a French gentleman from Bourbon, who had witnessed its culture there, and the value was pronounced to be then (1818), worth in the English market 2*s. 3d.* per pound, which is higher than the New Orleans, and equal to the price of the Pernambuco of that day. The capability of producing the article was fully established, and acknowledged by the Court of Directors; still no Bourbon cotton ever enters the market from Bombay.

The late Major-General Sir John Malcolm, when Governor of Bombay, took great pains to investigate the condition of the cotton trade there, and some valuable information on the subject, is to be found in the interesting account of his administration published in London in 1833, p. 108, derived from information obtained in India, as well as from commercial men and manufacturers in this country. He agrees in general with those gentlemen employed to superintend the experimental farms established under orders from home, that the indigenous annual cotton of Guzerat, if cultivated with more system, and picked and cleaned with more care, would bear a fair competition with Upland Georgia and New Orleans cotton, and he has suggested improvements on both the culture and getting up the article, which are of the highest importance, and deserve the utmost attention. The result of the experiments will be seen under the general reports of the brokers in this country, which appear on the opposite page.

With respect to the Bourbon cotton, which has been in some parts successfully introduced into Guzerat, the East India Company observes, that the silkiness and fineness of its staple appear to be objectionable, and that it does not meet with a ready sale in sufficient quantity to justify further expenditure in its cultivation, but the Court of Directors authorized the Bombay government to cause several farms, not exceeding 200 acres each, to be formed at the public expense, in order to try other experiments on the growth of American cotton.

In furtherance of these instructions, the Bombay government established three new farms, one in Candeish, another at Poona, and a third at Dharwar, under the supervision of Dr. Lush, and the farm at Guzerat was placed under Mr. Finey, a person long accustomed to agricultural pursuits in India.

Great pains therefore have, it seems, been taken by Government, and the success as far it has gone has been complete, in growing good cotton, but no beneficial results have arisen to the public, either in India or England, but a mere knowledge of the facts. The reports on the cottons are hereby subjoined.

COTTON REPORT, p. 274.

No. 101.

REPORT on *Sixty-Two Bales of Cotton, from the Experimental Farms in Guzerat, received per ship "Lady Feversham," in 1834.*

Marks on the Bales.

Experimental Farm. 34 Bales, B. Guzerat 1833. Churka.

7 Bales, above marks, and Saw-Gin, 1833.

1 Bale, above marks, and Saw-Gin, New Orleans, 1832.

4 Bales, Guzerat B. 1832.

Experimental Farm. 1 Bale Guzerat, New Orleans, Saw-Gin, 1832.

1 Half Bale, Guzerat, Saw-Gin, 1832.

From Perennial Farm at Seegee-hulee, 2 Bales White Seed, November, 1832.

Quality.

Good cotton, with fine staple, a little of the leaf. Appears equal to fine Surat, now worth $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8d. per pound.

Very clean showy cotton, but injured in the cleaning; the staple very short, and apparently cut; $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound.

Very clean showy cotton, better staple than the preceding (seventeen bales), but somewhat injured in cleaning; $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 9d. per pound.

Very ordinary staple, short, and there is a good deal of broken leaf; 6d. per pound.

Good cotton, very clean and bright, pretty good staple, but rather injured in cleaning; $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 9d. per pound.

Sample of very uneven quality; partly cleaned and of fair staple, and partly mixed with broken leaf; 7d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound.

Very clean and showy, but some part greatly injured in cleaning; mixed with small white knots (or useless fibre), which are very objectionable; $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound.

<i>Marks on the Bales.</i>	<i>Quality.</i>
1 Bale American Annual, grown as Perennial, Saw-Gin, 1832 ; from Dharwar.	Much the same as former two bales ; 8d. to 8½d. per pound.
1 Bale, New Orleans, Dharwar, 1830-31, Saw-Gin.	Clean, and of fine creamy colour ; fair staple, but a little injured by cleaning ; many small knots (useless fibres) ; 8d. per pound.
Total, 62 Bales.	

“ The valuation affixed to the cotton, which appears to have been injured in the cleaning, cannot be given with much confidence, as those parcels may not find purchasers for spinning; but these moderate quantities of clean cotton would probably be taken for candle-wick, jewellers' purposes, &c., at the prices herein stated.”

No. 102.

REPORT on Two small Bales of Cotton of experimental growth, received from Bombay, per ship “Lady Nugent,” in 1834.

<i>Per Lady Nugent.</i>	<i>Quality.</i>
No. 1. White-seeded Perennial, Farm Segechulee, Dharwar.	This cotton is remarkably clean, but the staple is injured by the process used in cleaning, which renders it unsuitable for general purposes. It has numerous small white tufts, or knobs, of cotton, which cannot be drawn out in spinning, and must therefore prove injurious to the yarn. Worth about 9d. to 9½d. for a small quantity; but a large parcel would not produce more than 8½d. per pound.
No. 2. American Annual, Farm Segechulee, Dharwar.	Very clean, and of good colour, but still more injured in cleaning than the former sample; value 8d. to 8½d. per pound.

[It is not stated in the correspondence in what mode these specimens have been cleaned.]

No. 103.

REPORT on a Box of Specimens of Cotton received from Bombay, per ship "Boyne," in 1834.

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Quality.</i>
No. 1. Common Bazaar, dirty Cotton. Foot-roller.	Badly cleaned, tender staple, and stained; value about $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 1. New Orleans, Saw-Gin, altered.	See remarks on first sample per <i>Lady Nugent</i> , which apply here, except that the staple is rather less injured by cleaning; value about $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 2. Common Bazaar, dirty Cotton; seed separated by Saw-Gin, cylinders revolving 210 times in a minute.	Not well cleaned from leaf, and the sample a little injured; value $7d.$ per pound.
No. 2 (bis). Ditto; ninety times per minute.	Nearly free from seed, but some leaf remains; a little injured by machine; value $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 2 (ter). Ditto; 300 times per minute.	Foul, with seeds and leaf.
No. 2*. Very small specimen. New Orleans; Saw-Gin; bowed and carded.	Clean, but the staple injured.
No. 2**. New Orleans; Saw-Gin, and bowed.	Good cotton, quite clean, but the staple a little injured; value $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 3. Dharwar Cotton, brought clean from the field; seed separated by the foot roller.	Well cleaned, good staple, and very little injured; value $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 4. Ditto; by Saw-Gin.	Very clean, but staple injured; value $8d.$ per pound.
No. 4*. New Orleans, Churka, and bowed.	Well cleaned, good cotton; value $9d.$ per pound.
No. 5. American Annual, green-seeded, Dharwar, Saw-Gin.	Similar to sample No. 2, per <i>Lady Nugent</i> ; value $8d.$ to $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 5*. New Orleans, Saw-Gin, altered.	Much like No. 4*, but slightly injured by the machine.
No. 6. White-seeded perennial (first crop injured by rains), Saw-Gin.	Clean, but the staple much cut; value $8d.$ per pound.
No. 7. White-seeded perennial (November, 1832), Saw-Gin.	Like sample No. 1, per <i>Lady Nugent</i> ; perhaps rather preferable; value $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Quality.</i>
No. 7. Egyptian (Saw-Gin).	Staple cut to pieces; this growth of cotton should not be cleaned by the Saw-Gin.
No. 8. Egyptian (Churka).	Good, long, firm, staple; slightly injured in cleaning; value, 12 <i>d.</i> to 13 <i>d.</i> per pound. Equal to Bahia cotton. This growth seems worthy of particular attention, and should be well cleaned in the native manner.
No. 8*. White-seeded perennial (Kupas). November, 1832.	Fine, strong, silky staple, but short. Not merchantable, being with the seed.
No. 9. Upland Georgia (specimen sent from England for experiment). Seed separated at Dharwar by Saw-Gin.	Well cleaned, and but little injured in the process; value 9 <i>d.</i> per pound.
No. 9*. Bourbon (Saw-Gin).	Fine staple, but injured in the cleaning. The Saw-Gin is not suitable to Bourbon cotton; value 9 <i>d.</i> per pound.
No. 10. Bowed Cotton (common bazaar, to show the effect of the process). N.B. Bowing costs about 10 Rs. per Candy. In the Saw-Gin, this process is performed by the brushes.	A little injured in the staple, and not quite free from leaf; value 9 <i>d.</i> per pound.
No. 10*. Bourbon, Saw-Gin and bowed.	Very clean, but much cut; value 9 <i>d.</i> per pound. See remark on No. 9*.
No. 11. Nowlgoond, brought clean from the field. (Foot-roller.)	Good cotton, and well cleaned, staple very slightly injured; value 8½ <i>d.</i> per pound.
No. 11*. Bourbon (Churka).	Not quite clean; a little injured in staple; value 9½ <i>d.</i> per pound.
No. 12. (Missing.)	
No. 13. Broach. Churka and bowed (old and dirty).	Pretty well cleaned; somewhat injured in staple; value 7½ <i>d.</i> per pound.
No. 14. Broach. Saw-Gin. Old and very dirty Kupas.	Not well cleaned from leaf, and much cut; value 7½ <i>d.</i> per pound.

GENERAL REMARKS.

“ The white-seeded perennial cotton, the New Orleans, and the Egyptian, appear to be deserving of particular attention in future experimental cultivation.

“ The American kinds which have been grown in India, have the creamy

colour common to Indian cotton, but that is no advantage. The growth of the United States is white.

"The Egyptian specimens above described are full as brown as the merchantable cotton imported from Egypt; but that colour is not a disadvantage, as the cotton bleaches well. The seed cultivated in Egypt, with so much success of late years, is understood to have been from Pernambuco, in which country the produce is remarkably white.

"May it not be advisable to order some seed to be sent from Egypt to Bombay, by the shortest route, as early as possible? The endeavours which were made in 1829-30 to procure some seed from Egypt, *via* London, were unsuccessful."

By the last overland dispatch, a copy of the Proceedings of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, for June, 1839, has been received, at the end of which is a valuable abstract of the history and results of the attempts made in Bengal to grow American cottons, and a notice is accidentally brought in of the discovery by a Mr. Ewart, of a few plants of the Bourbon cotton, raised from the seeds of Mr. Gilder's abandoned plantation in Guzerat. Extracts:—

"At the meeting of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, held at Calcutta, in March, 1839, a highly interesting note was presented by the late Mr. Ewart, of this city, received by him from his brother, who has been largely engaged in cotton spinning at Manchester, but is now residing at Bombay. The note states that Dr. Burn, at Kaira, has fifty or sixty trees of Bourbon cotton, three years old, some of the produce of which was shown to Mr. Ewart; that gentleman pronounced it to be excellent cotton, quite equal to the best New Orleans cotton. The seed from which these trees are grown, was taken from trees which Dr. Burn found growing wild, but which were planted at Kaira, fifteen years ago, by Mr. Gilder. The seed does not seem deteriorated; it is black and smooth, not like the Indian seed, to which the cotton adheres so firmly." The reader, on referring to page 18, will recognise them to have been the remains of the Government experimental farm, which was afterwards given up.

• "At the subsequent meeting in May (last month) the late Mr. Ewart presented, for the Museum of the Society, two specimen parcels of this cotton wool, which was justly extolled. One parcel was freed of seed, the other contained the cotton as plucked from the tree. The cleaned cotton had been separated from the seed at Bombay by the American saw-gin, which was found to have cut the staple, and thereby injured the quality of the cotton in the market. The cotton

was valued at Bombay at nearly double the price of the common country kind." "I propagated four score plants (writes Mr. Ewart, of Bombay), which I found in the hedge, and was near where Mr. Gilder's experimental cultivation had been conducted, and if it be Bourbon, it has become changed in some way, and is evidently well suited to be of value now. This is my opinion, after some seasons' observation, and I intend to go on increasing it. *It requires a dry sandy soil and no irrigation. Water, or manure, swells it all to leaves and branches* (vide p. 18). The bushes do best at four or five feet apart."

Dr. Lush, who has had much experience in growing cotton on the Western coast of India, states, in a pamphlet which I only saw after this paper was completed, his opinion that the indigenous cotton of that part will, if properly cultivated, bear a fair comparison with the Upland Georgia. In the year 1834, he procured 165 candies, equal to 129,160 lbs. of native cotton, grown at Nowlgoond, in the district of Dharwar, to be picked and cleaned under his inspection, at a cost of $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound (the common dirty cotton of the bazar then selling at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound), and it might be conveyed to Bombay, at 1d. per pound more, making the price there $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ From thence to England the freight does not exceed 1d. or $\frac{1}{4}d.$ per pound. This is the cotton referred to as No. 11, in the report, in p. 22. Now comparing this with the Upland Georgia, No. 9, of the same report, the difference in price is only $\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 9d. or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but when we look at the profit, we shall find it amount very nearly, if not quite, to 100 per cent. on an experiment, conducted on a most expensive scale, and the article afterwards brought in ten or twelve days from the interior, on the backs of oxen to the sea-coast.

Such has been the result of experimental farms, under the Bombay Presidency, to grow the cottons of the new world. Let us now turn towards the Bengal Presidency. There too the Government had botanical gardens, but little was done for cotton by which the public might benefit, till a number of private individuals, united for the meritorious purpose of improving the condition of the people, and formed themselves, in the year 1820, into an Agricultural and Horticultural Society.* They were liberally supported by the local Government with funds in the first instance, and they soon found that more knowledge was to be obtained, and more good could be effected, by the efforts of private individuals of their Society at a distance, than by any attempts they might make with an experimental garden at Calcutta. The general benefit arising out of this Society may, in some

measure, be appreciated by their proceedings on the article of cotton alone.

Dr. Royle, in an excellent article on this production, in his splendid work illustrative of the botany of the Himalaya Mountains, alludes to a very fine sample of cotton, brought from the Silhet hills by Mr. Bracken, a merchant at Calcutta, which, on examination by an experienced cotton-dealer, was pronounced to be on a par with the best cotton grown on the Sea Islands in America. This is mentioned as a proof how favourable that part of India must be to the growth of this material.

In the Transactions of the Agricultural Society of India, to which I have before alluded, and which has already published five volumes, we find accounts of the various attempts to grow the foreign cottons in different parts of the Bengal Presidency; for it has been already shown that most of the indigenous cotton used in the East of India was brought from a distance.

Mr. Vincent, of Nujufghur, speaking of the culture of the indigenous plant, in the tract of country lying north of Allahabad, and situated between the Jumna and Ganges, states that it is raised at considerable expense; that the land is richly manured after the wheat and barley crops are gathered in, and that the cotton produces as much as 328 lbs. of clean cotton an acre; whereas we have seen, that Mr. Duncan's estimate for the fertile district of Benares does not exceed 84 lb. an acre.

The reports on cotton extend to all the dependencies of the Bengal Presidency, and even to the Burmese empire. Colonel Burney, the British Resident in Ava, sent, in January, 1832, specimens of cotton grown on the Irrawaddy, very closely resembling the Pernambuco, of which Mr. Willis, of the Gloucester Mills, near Calcutta, reports, "that the fibre is long, fine, and good, well suited for their spinning machinery; it is readily freed from the seed, and has doubtless been of good strength, but has become impaired in this respect from want of care in transporting it. Such cotton-wool would in Liverpool, in proper condition, be worth from $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound, which is about the price the Pernambuco fetched in the market in 1831."

I am indebted to Colonel Burney for a specimen of Pernambuco cotton, raised at Tavoy in the Tenasserim coast, which on examination is found equal to the Pernambuco cotton, imported direct from South America this year into Liverpool.

Mr. Weeks writes from Cuttack, in 1832, and sends specimens of cloth, wove from Bourbon cotton, grown in his garden. The seed was first sown in 1827, and the plants had continued to yield abundantly ever since. The soil was a light sand, and the plantation within the influence of the sea air. The culture he describes as follows:—“Putting the seed into the ground, which should be well turned up at the commencement of the rains, is the principal part of the labour. In eighty-five days the plants will be in flower, and cotton may be gathered nine months in the year, and they will continue eight or ten years. Mine were planted in 1827. I should observe, at the commencement of the rains of each year, I take the shears and clip the plants down to about four feet. Their average height at the close of the rains will be about seven feet. I never saw plants more hardy or require less care.”

On November 3, 1832, Mr. Willis reported to the Society, on two specimens of cotton raised at Palaveram, near Madras, from seed sent to Colonel Coombs by the Society the previous year; but the Colonel omitted to state what the seeds were.

“One specimen is from plants grown on the hill on which Colonel Coombs resides, and which is about five miles from the sea coast, and four hundred feet above the level of the sea. The other specimen is from plants grown at the foot of the same hill.

“The specimen of cotton grown on the hill is very good. The filé or fibre is long and strong, possessing a good degree of fineness, and it bears the hue of what is termed healthy and well-grown cotton: it is likewise gathered in a remarkably clean manner, and would be much esteemed by our machine-spinners. I noticed cotton equal to this specimen in Liverpool, at 7d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling, per pound.

“The specimen of cotton grown at the foot of the hill is of middling quality*. The fibre is shorter, weaker, and rather finer, (perhaps degenerately so,) than that of the hill cotton; neither is its hue quite so good, though in this last respect it is scarcely to be found fault with. It is not gathered quite so cleanly as the hill specimen, and in quality generally shows more irregularity than that grown on the hill. I

* I visited both these plantations in June, 1835, after the death of Colonel Coombs. The plantations had been entirely neglected for nearly a year, but the plants looked healthy, and had they been headed-in at that time, I have little doubt that they would have furnished a good crop early in the ensuing year. The soil is a decomposition of the granitic rock of which the hill is formed.

value cotton equal to this specimen in Liverpool, at 5*d.*, to 5*½d.* per pound*."

On the 21st of March, 1833, Mr. Huggins, of Allahabad, forwarded specimens of the cotton raised there from Upland Georgian seed. He considers from his experience that the soil ought to be of a light description, (the *domet*, or a mixture of sand and clay.) Heading-in the plants may or may not be had recourse to. Mr. Huggins thinks it may strengthen the plant, but it causes it to produce later in the season.

Mr. Findlay, of the Gloucester Mills, reports on the 31st of July, as follows, on a specimen of cotton grown from foreign seed on the coast of Tenassserim, and also on some Sea Island cotton grown by Mr. Kyd, on Sauger Island, on the Delta of the Ganges.

1st. "I consider the Pernambuco cotton (raised at Tavoy, on the coast of Tenassserim,) to be a most excellent specimen of that description. It is both strong and long, and pretty equal in staple, and I should say, would readily fetch 7*½d.* at home, (in England.) This would be a most desirable quality of cotton for the Gloucester mills."

2ndly. "Respecting Mr. Kyd's Sauger Sea Island cotton, I must say that it far exceeds any specimen of the kind which I have seen in the country yet. It has all the strength of staple necessary for its length and fineness, and is very equal; and I would say, fit for fine spinning: it is worth 14*d.* per pound at least†."

(Signed) "JOSEPH FINDLAY."

Mr. Leyburne writes from Shahabad on the 7th of July, 1837, sending a small packet of cotton raised from Egyptian seed which was highly approved of. He remarks: "One important feature in the produce compared with the cotton grown near here is, that the Egyptian yields one half cotton, and the other half seed; whereas the country cotton has three parts seed and only one of cotton, set aside the superior staple of the former."

Mr. Harris, of Kishnagnur, also sends on the 27th of July, 1837, samples of cotton raised there from Egyptian seed, and another parcel of brown Nankin cotton raised at Barcilly; also some Pernambuco

* In the year 1832, the Uplands and New Orleans varied from 5*d.* to 9*d.*, and the Surats from 3*½d.* to 5*½d.*

† Mr. Holt's table of prices for 1832, the same year, gives:

Pernambuco 7*½d.* to 10*½d.* Sea Island 9*½d.* to 18*d.*

from Cuttack. The following is the report made to the Society by two experienced brokers.

1. Egyptian . . .	{ Shahabad: staple good, and cotton soft.
2. Egyptian . . .	{ Kishnagur growth: good cotton.
3. Pernambuco . . .	{ Cuttack growth: specimen clear, and liked the best.
4 and 5. Brown Nankin, indigenous . . .	{ Bareilly growth: staple short, removed from the seed with difficulty.

CHARLES HUFFNAGLE.

The following is a report on cotton seed from Moulmein on the Tenasserim coast, and from Singapore, extracted from the Society's Transactions.

XLVII. COTTON.

"Opinions of the Committee on Samples received, with Communications from E. A. BLUNDELL, Esquire (read 10th May, 1837); from W. C. CRANE, Esquire (read 10th May and 12th July, 1837); from D. F. MACLEOD, Esquire (read 3rd October, 1837)."

"To A. COLVIN, Esquire, W. STORM, Esquire, DR. HUFFNAGLE, Members of the Cotton Committee.

"The Secretary has the honour to submit the following original communications and samples for the opinions of members, and will feel much obliged to them to return the papers and samples at their earliest convenience.

"1st. From E. A. BLUNDELL, Esquire, dated Moulmein, 2nd April, 1837, presenting samples of Pernambuco cotton grown in that country; viz.—

PRODUCE OF SEASON, 1837.

On one soil, { No. 1.—From trees of two years' growth. . . .
2.—From trees of nine months' ditto.
3.—From trees of two years' ditto.

Two different soils, No. 4.—From trees of nine months' ditto.

"2nd. From W. C. CRANE, Esquire, of Calcutta, dated 26th April, 1837, presenting, on behalf of his brother at Singapore, sample of Upland Georgia cotton, grown in that island, from seed forwarded

by this Society ; also a sample of Manilla cotton, grown in the same place.

“3rd. From W. C. CRANE, Esquire, dated 6th July, 1837, presenting a specimen of Sea Island cotton, grown at Singapore, from seed forwarded by this Society.

“ SINGAPORE COTTON.

“The specimen of ‘Sea Island’ cotton grown at Singapore, from American seed, and presented by Mr. Crane, is, according to my opinion, superior to either of the other samples before me.

“It is silky ; long in staple, with a strong and even fibre. We cannot, however, form a correct estimate of the average quality of the cotton from this plantation, as it appears by Mr. Crane’s letter, that he has sent us ‘only a few of the first pods,’ which have, no doubt, been carefully picked.

“The soil, however, ‘sandy and near the sea,’ appears to be well adapted for this variety, and if the whole crop will bear any comparison with the first portion produced, this experiment at Singapore may, I think, be considered as very successful.

“The Upland Georgia cotton does not seem to be so well adapted to the soil and climate, being woolly, and the seed separable with difficulty ; but the staple is good.

“ MOULMEIN COTTON.

“The quality of the cotton presented by E. A. Blundell, Esquire, (particularly No. 4) is so superior, that I much regret the quantity produced did not answer Mr. B.’s expectations. On perusal of his letter, I was induced to make inquiry of Messrs. Gilmore and Co., regarding 300lbs. which Mr. Blundell forwarded to those gentlemen ; and through the kindness of Mr. Crawford, I am enabled to append the following memoranda, and to present in his name to the Society, specimens of the cotton in its several stages of manufacture ; viz.,—rove, cope, and thread.

“It will require about No. 60—is very fine, and of good staple, lost much less in proportion than the country cotton, and is worth from 18 to 20 rupees per maund—(about 5d. per lb. in Calcutta.)

“The remaining specimens are so inferior to the foregoing, that I prefer leaving my colleagues, who are so much better qualified than myself, to append an opinion.

(Signed) “ C. HUFFNAGLE.”

“ I agree with Dr. Huffnagle in his remarks on the Singapore

cotton, and would recommend, in future, to send only the Sea Island cotton to the Straits, Moulmein, and Arracan.

“The Pernambuco cotton, and the manufacture of it at Gloster, proves it to be a superior article, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Blundell should consider it a failure.

“I have had a careful examination of these cottons, which almost entirely correspond with Dr. Huffnagle's opinion, and recommend, with Mr. Storm, that the Sea Island seed be especially relied upon on the Eastern Coasts, and the Straits. At the same time, it seems desirable that Mr. Blundell should be solicited to continue his experiments with the Pernambuco seed, the cotton from which has produced a stronger thread than is usually imported here from England. It is well twisted, and although a little knotty, is very creditable to the Gloster Mills.

(Signed) “A. COLVIN.”

In the same Transactions is found the following letter from the Court of Directors in London, to the Governor-General, dated in 1837.

“REVENUE DEPARTMENT.—No. 3. of 1837.

“*Our Governor of the Presidency of Fort William, in Bengal.*

“1. We now reply to your letter, under date 6th October, (No. 4,) 1835, transmitting the report of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, on the subject of the experimental farm established at Akra, and on the success of their labours generally in encouraging the improvement of staple and other articles of produce.

“2. We have perused this report with much interest, and consider that great praise is due to the Society for their exertions in the promotion of objects so highly important and interesting. In the letter from the Secretary to the Society, to the address of the Secretary at this House, dated 19th October, 1835, it is stated that the report is in the press, and will probably arrive in England, in a printed form, as soon as the original copy. We have not, however, received any of the printed copies, some of which you will, of course, transmit to us as soon as they are received by you.

“3. We regret to observe that, as a whole, the experimental farm at Akra must be considered as a failure, but it is still satisfactory to find that the pecuniary aid which, under our sanction, you have afforded to the Society, has not been altogether unprofitably bestowed.

“4. Many reasons are assigned for the want of success in the

cultivation of the cotton seed, *viz.* :—calamities of season, bad seed, ignorance of the proper seasons for sowing, choice of land ill-suited to the growth of cotton (being either too rich or too salt), and an improper mode adopted in the sowing.

“ 5. The Committee, however, appear to be sanguine in their expectations of the benefits which will ultimately be found to result from the facts which their labours have elicited, especially that which fixes and determines the description of seed most likely to become generally cultivated throughout India, namely, the Upland Georgia plant, which the Committee of the Society appear to be confident will ultimately supplant that which is indigenous to the country. ‘Too much attention,’ the report states, ‘cannot be paid to secure and distribute, by every possible means, from time to time, a quantity of this description, until it shall have taken deep root in every part of India.’

“ 6. We have submitted to competent judges the samples of cotton, cotton twist, and cotton cloth, referred to in the letter from the Secretary to the Society, and the following is their report on the same :—

No. 104.

East India House, June, 1836.

Report on seven small Bales of Cotton forwarded to the Court of Directors by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, dated Calcutta, 19th October, 1835; per ship Bussorah Merchant, arrived February, 1836.

<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Quality.</i>
No. 1. From Upland Georgia seed sown in 1831, gathered in spring of 1832. Cleaned by saw-gin.	Very middling; clean, but poor uneven staple, slightly injured in cleaning, brownish colour. Estimated value $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 2. Ditto, 1832-3. Cleaned by saw-gin.	Good, fair, clean and bright; more even in staple; $9d.$ per pound.
No. 3. Ditto, 1832-3. Cleaned by saw-gin.	Not so clean; $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound.
No. 4. Ditto, ditto; Churka.	Fair uneven staple, a little leaf remains; rather higher colour; $8d.$ per pound.
No. 5. Bourbon seed; 1831-2. Saw-gin.	Very middling, tolerably clean and good colour, much injured in staple

6*½*d. per pound. (The saw-gin is unsuitable to this kind of cotton).

No. 6. Sea Island, 1832-3. Churka.

Fair, fine, but uneven staple; a little leaf, and much stained. Had this growth been well got up, and free from stain, it would have been worth about 12d. per pound. (The saw-gin is not used for Sea Island cotton in North America.)

No. 9. Upland Georgia, from acclimated seed at Akra, being one year in descent from the imported seed. (Churka.)

Very middling; rather fine, but short, uneven staple; tolerably clean, and rather high colour; 8d. per pound.

Prices in England, June, 1836.

Sea Island, 23d. to 25d. per pound.

Bourbon, none.

Upland Georgia, 10d. to 11d.

Surat, 6d. to 7*½*d.

COTTON CLOTH.

Description in Society's Report.

Quality.

A.—1 piece, ten yards: power looms.

The material hard and texture open; pretty even fabric. Value about 5d. per yard, at the utmost.

B.—1 piece, twenty yards; native hand-loom.

Material good; fabric soft, but of stripy weaving (*i.e.* thick and thin.) Value about 6d. per yard.

Both from Upland Georgia seed gathered 1832, 1833, and cleaned by churka.

The articles are in quality between muslin and calico.

The under-mentioned twist was also from the same bale of cotton, (No. 5.)

COTTON TWIST.

Twist, No. 60.

The cotton has been badly prepared, both in the cleaning and carding, and is spun too far for the quality. The thread is uneven, and much too soft for weft. The hanks are not uniform in quality, some being No. 60, and others about 62 per pound. Estimated value, 20d. to 20*½*d. per pound.

The Court in their letter allude to the Society's garden at Akra, which was subsequently given up. I visited the garden in August, 1831, and I never saw so luxurious a plantation in my life, of the

Upland Georgian cotton ; it was however fifteen months old, and had never produced a pod. I had seen the practice of browsing down the cotton in Persia, and had had some horticultural experience in India, and told the superintendent, that I thought the plants ought to be headed-down, as is done with many plants, the growth of a temperate climate, such as roses, figs, and vines, at the same season. This advice, however, was neglected. Meanwhile nature performed that which man neglected ; a violent hail-storm occurred in the month of March following, and literally left nothing but the stumps of the plants, which yielded in the following year an abundant crop of good cotton ; and the committee of the agricultural establishment accordingly strongly recommended the introduction of the Upland Georgia on an extensive scale, as affording cotton of as fine quality as that produced in America from the same sort.

In September, 1835, Mr. Patrick, superintendent of the Fort Gloster cotton mills (near Calcutta), writes of it as follows. "Accompanying are twenty-four bundles (five pounds each) of twist spun from the cotton grown at the Akra farm, under the superintendence of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. Also one piece of cloth (ten yards) made from the twist spun and wove by the power-loom, and one piece (twenty yards) made by the native hand-loom.

"This cotton I have carefully watched through the various stages, of cleaning, carding, roving, spinning, &c., and have no hesitation in characterising it as equal to the very best Upland Georgia cotton. The staple is fully as long, and I would say, stronger and better for mule spinning than any I have imported from America.

"My own opinion with regard to the cultivation of Upland Georgia cotton in India, from what I have seen of it is, that if judiciously prosecuted, it would ultimately be crowned with success."

Colonel Colvin, whose plantations were in the neighbourhood of Delhi, in a paper read before the Society, dated 1st May, 1836, observes :—"The experiment of cotton has commenced on a large scale, the sowings altogether amounting to 150 acres from seeds formerly sent by the Society." He had only been able to secure the Upland Georgia plant which thrived well, while the seed of the Sea-island did not vegetate well, and the plants were cut up by the frost in December.

"At the ordinary monthly meeting of the Society, held in February, 1837, Colonel Colvin presented a large bag, containing upwards of eighty pounds of Upland Georgia cotton, which he had

brought with him from the villages along the Dehli canal, the re-production of several successive crops derived from the seed before alluded to. As many as 100 villages along the line of the canals, had been induced to adopt the cultivation of the superior cotton."

The formal report on the quality of this cotton made by two practised members of this Society (Messrs. Spiers and Willis), mentions the greatest part to be of considerably longer staple than our best native cotton; and *equal to the American in length and in fineness*, but lessened a little in strength.

The attempts hitherto made under the Bengal Presidency have been confined almost entirely to private individuals, uninfluenced by any motive of pecuniary reward; still, enough has been done to show that there are sound grounds for believing that the Upland Georgia and New Orleans cottons will thrive in almost all parts north of Calcutta.

It remains now to be seen what has been the success of the efforts made under the Madras Presidency.

The Government has not been less desirous of improving the cotton produce there, than in other parts, as the following documents from their Cotton Report, p. 96, will show:—

"Letter from the Secretary to Government at Madras, to the President and Members of the Boards of Trade and Revenue, dated the 8th of June, 1819.

"Gentlemen,

1. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter of the 17th ultimo.

2. "Mr. Randall's Memoir on the growth of Cotton, and the samples which accompanied it, will be forwarded to the Court of Directors, in order that the Honourable Court may consider of the expediency of procuring cotton-seed of a better species from America to supplant the inferior kind of cotton at present grown in India. The same project was strongly recommended by Mr. Bernard Metcalf, from whom the Honourable Court may probably have the means of obtaining useful information regarding it.

3. "The Governor in Council thinks it very desirable, as proposed by you, that an enhanced price should be offered in the ceded districts for clean picked cotton of a better description than what is usually produced there.

4. "The several collectors will be instructed, through the Board of Revenue, to afford all the assistance in their power to the commercial officers in Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam, in establishing and managing the proposed experimental cotton-farms, with the view of introducing the culture of an improved species of cotton. The object in view is of much importance, and worthy the attention of Government; and its attainment, probably, will admit of being secured, or its impracticability be ascertained, without subjecting the Company to any heavy expense.

"*Fort St. George, 8th June, 1819.*"

No. 46.

Extract. Madras Board of Trade General Report, dated 30th September, 1819.

35. "With a view to assist in the desirable measure of extending the cultivation of the Bourbon and other valuable cottons, and the ascertaining the congeniality of the soils of various districts to the growth thereof, we had, under the sanction of Government, commenced the introduction of cotton-farms, of about 400 acres each. These experimental depôts were not sufficiently advanced to enable us to enter here into any observations respecting them. Tinnevelly and Bourbon seed was distributing by every opportunity, and we trusted that a very large quantity of valuable seed would be produced in those experimental nurseries, which would be available for such parts of the Peninsula as experience shall prove were best adapted to the object which was in view.

36. "We had much satisfaction in noticing the progress that was making in respect to the realization of a cotton investment in Coimbatore. A large quantity was expected to arrive before the setting in of the rainy season; but it was apprehended not sufficiently early to enable us to transmit a muster bale to the Honourable Court on the chartered ship *Catherine*. A very recent letter from Coimbatore holds out a confident expectation of an investment of between 1500 and 2000 candies of cleaned cotton being available in that district in the ensuing season; and it was our intention to urge the provision of the article in that district to the fullest practicable extent. By the conclusion of January, a large quantity of cotton would be on hand, ready for exportation; and when the extent of it shall have been ascertained on sufficiently accurate data, we stated that we would have

had the honour to request that application be made to Bengal, to know if there was vacant tonnage available on any of the Honourable Company's ships."

Mr. Hughes of Tinnevelly, a district situated on the most southern part of the Peninsula, was the first who attempted the growth of the Bourbon cotton, as a planter and a merchant. A paper which he wrote on the subject, addressed to Mr. Heath (the Company's Commercial Resident at Salem and Coimbatore), with the latter gentleman's own observations, derived from considerable experience, has been already published in this Society's Transactions, (Part X.). I shall, therefore, merely advert to such parts as bear on my present subject.

Mr. Hughes writes, in February, 1818, that he found the Bourbon plant extremely hardy, but it did not yield more than from 50 to 100 pounds per acre of clean cotton annually. He observes, that the plant must be grown on a soil *fertile only in a small degree, composed of siliceous and calcareous particles, and that the black loam, denominated the cotton soil of India, should be particularly avoided.* He deems proximity to the sea advantageous, if not essential, and states that a dry soil and atmosphere are requisite during the gathering months of March and April, and again in July and August. The plant lasted with him many years, by heading-in after each crop to within two feet both in height and width.

The report of Messrs. Fairlie, Bonham, and Co., dated London, 22nd April, 1817, shows that this article was favourably received in the English market.

"We enclose the price current of cotton-wool at the present sale at the India House; amongst which it gives us much pleasure to point out your five bales by the *Grant*, which sold from 2s. 1*3d.* to 2s. 1*3d.* per pound.

"The great improvement which the parcel shows to be attainable in the cultivation of the Bourbon species with you, is indeed very encouraging, and seems to open a fair field for future operations on a more extended scale. You have hitherto succeeded in this instance only, in producing a real equivalent for the Bourbon wool; what was formerly had, being but a distant imitation, and in request only when the true Bourbon was particularly scarce and dear. For it is not the fineness nor the cleanliness of the staple, important as these qualities must always be, that will suffice to raise it to its proper estimation. Evenness of fibre, and susceptibility of being drawn out into a thread

without the fibre being entangled, are also indispensable, and may be greatly marred by the process of beating with sticks, so as to occasion that entanglement. Managed as the present consignment has been, (so much superior to the preceding fifteen bales,) any quantity would here meet a ready sale, and I should suppose would amply recompense the trouble and care which it demands. We think this a matter of so much importance, that we have taken a sample from these bags, which we intend to accompany this letter, that, by reference to it, you may keep in view the qualities that would always command this market."

On reference to the Liverpool price-current of the same year, I find that good Upland Georgia cotton sold at from 20*d.* to 23*½d.* sterling, and New Orleans at from 20*d.* to 25*½d.*, while the best Surats brought only 17*½d.* to 20*d.* The superiority of Mr. Hughes's cotton seems, therefore, according to the letter above alluded to, to have been valuable chiefly on account of the care taken in separating the wool from the seeds.

Mr. Heath's experiment of the Bourbon cotton was made in the districts of Coimbatore and Salem, removed 100 miles from the sea. He grew the plants on *a light soil, composed chiefly of decomposed granitic rocks*; and having caused Mr. Hughes's paper to be translated into the native language, and by a good deal of personal trouble, he succeeded, in 1823-24, in procuring from the district of Coimbatore 500 bales of clean Bourbon cotton, of 300 lbs. each; and the natives were by that time so well satisfied of its superiority, that, had encouragement been continued to them, he is of opinion that the description of indigenous cotton sown in the Coimbatore district would have been entirely superseded. On the situation of Company's Commercial Agent being abolished, the supervision of Mr. Heath ceased; no merchants were on the spot ready to take the produce; the poor cultivators had not the means, for want of roads and capital, of conveying the cotton to a market; and the cultivation has now given way, as Mr. Heath observes, to the edible grains of the country.

In the year 1832, the East India Company sent out to Madras a considerable quantity of American cotton-seeds, of sorts, among which were both Upland Georgia and Sea Island, which were distributed to the collectors of Salem, Coimbatore, Arcot, Kurpah, and Guntoor. Unfortunately, the season was unfavourable, on account of drought; and on the whole the experiment was a failure. In the Salem district, where Mr. Heath's success had been so great, Mr. Orr, the

collector, writes, on the authority of Mr. Fischer, a gentleman who has been in the habit of growing cotton there, that, after trial, Mr. Fischer considered the American plant "a delicate and unprofitable one, and not at all calculated for that country; and that it is not nearly so productive as the common country or indigenous cotton, and by no means so much so as the Bourbon." He concludes by observing that, "When the American*, of the denomination sent out to this country, was selling in England for 7*d.*, the Coimbatore (indigenous) sold for 4*1/2* *d.* and 5*d.*, and my Bourbon for 9*d.*"

That portion of the American cottons which afterwards produced fruit, was sent to England, and the following is the report, dated May, 1834.

Per ship Lord William Bentinck.

1 box 2 lbs. American cotton produced in southern division of Arcot,

Quality.

Good, fair, clean cotton. Part of it has staple of good length; but there is a great mixture of short fibre, a little stained. Estimated value 10*d.*

N.B. Indigenous Indian cotton best Surat, varied from 5*d.* to 8*1/2* *d.* per pound in the same year.

Per ship Sesostris.

1 parcel 2 lbs. from American seed, district of Guntur, with the seed.

Of fine quality, but uneven in length of staple. Not marketable with the seed.

1 parcel 2 lbs. the same growth, without the seed.

Much injured in cleaning, a good deal of short staple, and much stained. About 6*1/2* *d.* per pound.

1 parcel 1*1/2* lb. New Orleans seed, district of Salem, with the seed.

This is fine cotton, with pretty good staple.

1 parcel 2 lbs. picked at Madras from cotton received from Tinnevelly, with the seed.

Very clean, of good quality, and strong fibre; but uneven as to length of staple: part of it is very short. Estimated value about 8*d.* per pound.

1 parcel seed unknown, from Coimbatore, with the seed.

Fine, but of uneven staple, and for the most part very tender.

In October, 1835, the Government of Madras issued a series of queries on the subject of cotton, to the several provincial authorities,

* The American cotton here alluded to is the Upland Georgia.

which were reduced into a report by Dr. Wight, a medical officer, holding the situation of naturalist at that Presidency. It is impossible to read this paper without wishing to see the whole republished in England, but it is too long to come within the scope of this article.

The following is an abstract of the Report and the amount of produce raised in each district:—

“ **GANJAM.**—Very little indigenous cotton is grown, and the American plants have had no fair trial. Produce, 94 lbs. clean cotton, per acre.

“ **VIZAGAPATAM.**—Three kinds of cotton grown. The annual early white, the triennial white, the triennial red.

“ The first is topped when the plants are three feet high, to strengthen it.

“ The second and third are cut down to the ground after the cotton has been gathered: the produce is great.

“ Seeds of Sea Island, Upland Georgia, sowed in gardens, succeeded well, and produced fine cotton. Average produce, 290 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

“ **MASULIPATAM.**—This is not a cotton-growing district, and only very little is cultivated. That which is, however, is an annual and not pruned: the produce is 50 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

“ **RAJAHMUNDRY.**—Two sorts are cultivated; the indigenous plant on black cotton soil, which produces 94 lbs. an acre, and a red, or brown cotton, which thrives only in a light soil, the tax on which is not half that which is levied on the black soil; the produce is found, in good seasons, to be equal to 125 lbs. an acre, and is profitable. Both these are treated as annual plants, but Dr. Wight considers they might be converted into perennial, or, at all events, triennial, by pruning, and that the soil on which the latter is grown, would answer for the Bourbon and New Orleans, and Upland Georgia of America.

“ **GUNTOOR.**—Drill husbandry is adopted in this district for cotton. The indigenous plant is grown on the black soil, but only yields 62½ lbs. of clean cotton per acre. The Bourbon and American seed both failed in the same soil, but there are parts of this district near the sea, where the soil is light and saline, which it is believed would answer well for the American seeds.

“ **TANJORE.**—The indigenous cotton, in this district, is cultivated as an annual, and yields a fair produce of 103½ lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

“**TRICHINOPOLY.**—This district has always been considered as affording no soil for the growth of the indigenous cotton, but at present, it is stated that the cultivation of Bourbon cotton is rapidly extending; it had entirely failed in the black land; but succeeded admirably in the reddish sandy loam. There are two descriptions of native cotton here, as in Rajahmundry, viz., the common indigenous plant, which succeeds on the black soil, and another which grows only on the red sandy loam. They are both cultivated as annuals. The former yields a short coarse staple, the latter a fine silky staple. The produce is 194 lbs. of clean cotton per acre, but whether this is to be understood of the indigenous plant, or of the Bourbon cotton, now so extensively cultivated, is not clear.

“**SALEM.**—This is the district into which Mr. Heath introduced the Bourbon cotton, in 1823. Much pains have been taken to introduce the inland American varieties, but they have invariably failed, while the Bourbon, which has succeeded well, shares a good portion of the produce with the indigenous plant. They are both treated as perennial, and are regularly browsed down and reduced to the stump, as in Persia. The amount of produce, however, falls short of several other districts. The indigenous triennial yields $87\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., and the Bourbon 94 lbs. an acre.

“**COIMBATORE.**—This was another district under Mr. Heath's supervision. The history of the Salem cultivation seems equally applicable to this. The triennial cotton of the country succeeds in the same light soil as those of Bourbon and the inland America. The Bourbon is in much favour with the planters, but yields less in quantity than the indigenous or triennial. The produce is thus rated:—

Indigenous annual	79 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Triennial	72 lbs.
Bourbon	68 lbs.

“**MADURA.**—The land in this district is of various qualities, and although the same pains are taken in cultivating the plant, in point of manure and ploughing, the produce differs extremely. In the part near Ramnad, the average produce is only 44 lbs. per acre of clean cotton. At Pallemudum, 55 lbs. per acre. At Terumangalam, 98 lbs. This latter sort is exported under the denomination of Tinnevelly, though not grown there, but bears a fair comparison with it in the market.

“**TINNEVELLY.**—This is the district into which Mr. Hughes so

successfully introduced, many years ago, the Bourbon seed, and which takes its stand above all the Indian grown cottons yet brought into the market. The black soils enjoy the preference for the annual indigenous cottons, but the lighter sandy soils for the triennial. The Bourbon cottons are extensively cultivated, and apparently with much success, but the comparative advantages of the indigenous and foreign kinds, are known only to the cultivators. On the whole, the produce is very low, being only $69\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per acre, of clean cotton. The average produce of cotton in the Madras provinces, cultivated without manure, is about 108 lbs. per acre."

With regard to the Madras cottons in general, it is satisfactory to be able to state, that the proprietors of the Gloucester Mills established, about ten years ago, near Calcutta, and where it was found requisite at first to import American cottons, have now given the latter up, and they use for the spinning of their best threads the cotton grown on the Coromandel coast.

Before concluding this report, I am anxious to make a few observations on the mode of cultivating the plant in India, and the alterations which seem desirable, to which I propose adding a few remarks on cotton soils.

On the subject of cotton cultivation in India, we can hardly have better evidence than that of Dr. Lush, who had the superintendence not only of a botanical garden at Dapoory for many years, but of an experimental farm at Seegdully in the Dharwar district; and has also witnessed its growth at Guzerat. In Broach, he states, the black soil though it has an admixture of sand, is very retentive of moisture. To this mixed character of the soil he ascribes the fineness of the staple, but considers that it causes it to be shorter. He found in Dharwar wherever there was a great admixture of kankar or nodules of lime, the staple of the indigenous cotton became flimsy, resembling a cobweb.

Dr. Wight, in his essay on the Madras system of culture, complains that the natives neglect to change their seed, and, in most instances, sow their cotton broad cast, mixed up with various other seeds. In Guzerat, and on the Malabar coast, it is frequently sowed in drills, about three feet apart, frequently without any other seeds, but very often with a few plants of Indian hemp, 'Hibiscus Cannabinis.' It is carefully hoed when the plants are eight or ten inches high, and

frequently during its growth. Nothing can be more simple nor more efficient than the Deccan ox-hoe, which, while it cuts up all weeds effectually, throws the loose soil round the roots of each plant. Dr. Lush conceives the native husbandry to be much under-rated, but this is owing to the little observation of Europeans in passing through the country. He considers the agricultural implements, though rude to look at, well adapted for the purposes for which they are used. The systems of agriculture in different parts of India vary as much as among the several nations of Europe. With us they vary in different counties of the same Island. I cannot imagine any people with the scanty means they have, more assiduous to improve, and more industrious in their vocation, than the Marattâ peasantry. Dr. Lush even goes so far on the subject of cotton cultivation as to ask, Who shall instruct the Broach Ryot?

Rich soils and manure do not answer for the cotton plant. The Marattâ says, it burns it up; and this is verified by observing the condition of a stray cotton plant, growing in the vicinity of a dunghill, or near the village among oil plants or tobacco, both which require manure. There the cotton plant is a long straggling shrub, with abundance of leaves in the rainy weather, but with hardly a pod on it in the season for bearing.

Dr. Lush has said nothing in his essay about pruning the plant. Indeed, his experience led him to judge that the foreign cottons of the Western world would not answer in the Deccan, and there is no doubt he was right. He considers the culture of the indigenous plant ought to be chiefly attended to, and treating it as an annual, the views of Dr. Wight of Madras, who proposes by heading it in to cause it to last three or four years, do not seem to have occurred to him.

The season for gathering commences in different months, according to climate and geographical position. In some places the plant bears but once, in others twice in the year, and the produce varies greatly, according to circumstances. In this process consists one of the most important portions of cotton husbandry. In general, the plants in India are allowed to grow too close to each other, and the consequence is, that the women and children, who are the principal gatherers, pushing in between the plants, break the dried leaves or portions of the capsule into the fruit, from which it is very difficult to remove it. The period of gathering is often delayed till too late, and before the process commences, much of the cotton has been blown out of the capsule, and lies on the ground mixed with dirt. The time of gathering, too,

is of great importance; Dr. Lush found it advisable to pick the cotton early in the morning, before the dry leaves become friable from the intense heat of the day, and each picker was supplied with two bags, the one to carry the clean cotton, the other to receive those portions which were soiled or mixed with dirt. In the part of the country where he carried on his experiments, the pickers were not paid in money but in kind:—of the first gatherings they received an eighth—of the second one-fourth, and of the last one-half. He calculated that to procure the cotton to be picked under inspection, it would be necessary to pay at least, if not more even than, 25 per cent. of the gross produce. Dr. Lush prefers an instrument he calls the foot-roller, particularly described in the Cotton Report of the East India Company of 1836, as removing the seed more perfectly and with less injury to the staple than any other. The saw-gin appears to be calculated only for the American Upland Georgia and New Orleans. The common revolving roller of India used in Guzerat, Madras, and Hindustan, called churka, seems to answer better than any instrument that has yet been invented. It has been already shown that the indigenous cotton of Western India when carefully prepared for the market is an excellent commodity, and will yield to the merchant a large and profitable return; but without European supervision in the first instance, it is vain to expect that the mere offering of premia, as has been done by the Government, will induce whole nations of a sudden to adopt any system different from that to which they have been accustomed from the earliest ages, and from which they derive very considerable profit, owing to the ready sale of the article such as it is for all their own domestic purposes. But to the European manufacturer and merchant, cleanliness is a point of the utmost consequence, for two reasons: first, that where there is much dirt in an article so light as cotton, that dirt frequently forms a very considerable portion of the gross weight of the commodity, as much as *one third*; secondly, the expense of the labour that is devoted to divest it of the dirt becomes a large ingredient in the cost price of the manufacture whether as thread or cloth.

The inland American cottons were formerly cleared of the seed by the process called bowing, a practice common in the East, as well as in the West, to divest the cotton of the dirt which is so much complained of by our manufacturers in the present day; but the latter find fault with the cotton so cleaned abroad, although all of it is subjected to a process somewhat similar, after it is imported. In some manufactories, the cotton is spread over net-work frames, and is

beaten and tossed about by manual labour, till the dirt is beaten out and falls through. In others, the cotton is very finely distributed in a machine called a willow, and is winnowed till the dirt is separated. In many manufactories, the raw cotton passes through five or six machines before it is rolled up into sheets fit for going to the carders. Now the cotton in India is prepared in the same way, by means of the bow, but such bowed cotton, though clean, is objected to in England. Mr. Gray, a gentleman to whom I am indebted for much valuable information on the subject of cotton, observes he has never heard any reason assigned for this objection, but conceives that the fibres of bowed cotton fit to go to the carder, when compressed in packing become necessarily entangled and matted into a sort of felt, very difficult to unravel; so that the fibre, perhaps, never regains its natural smooth figure. If this is true of the short staple, how much more must it apply as an objection to the operation being performed on the long silky cotton of the Sea Islands or Brazil. This objection, however, would not apply where the cotton is used on the spot, and has undergone no screwing.

There is no point more essential to be considered in its culture, than the soil in which cotton is grown, and the result of all our experience goes to show, that *the indigenous plant of India* will not thrive well on any land but that denominated cotton soil; while on the same soil the plants of the Western world invariably fail. This remarkable difference in the character of the cottons of the East and the West has not been sufficiently attended to, but is worthy of especial notice.

The importance of ascertaining the soil in which the American cottons grow was first suggested to this Society by our scientific associate Dr. Malcolmon, and it was at his suggestion that application was made to Lord Palmerston, requesting him to aid the Society in obtaining several specimens of American cotton soils for the purpose of analyses. This request was very promptly acceded to, and in the course of last year specimens from ten distinct and remote estates were procured and submitted to Mr. Solly for a report. This report was read before the Society in February last, and has been published. The substance is, that the soils, though differing in appearance and in the quantity of the ingredients, are composed of the same materials. They consist principally of a fine sand, varying slightly in fineness. One of them contains hardly any other substance. The colouring matter is due to portions of oxide of iron and manganese, in small quantities, and they contain little or no lime in any shape.

"When exposed to a strong heat, the organic matters which they contain are destroyed; these are of two kinds, the one being portions of plants, fibrous matters, &c. in a state of decay, and the other consisting of very finely divided and soluble matters. These vary from four and eight per cent., and in the subsoils from one and a half to four. Besides these substances, the soils also contain traces of saline matter."

Mr. Porter, in his work, entitled *The Tropical Agriculturist*, observes, p. 8: "The cotton plant (of America) succeeds better in light and sandy soils, than in such as are heavy and clayey." P. 9: "Volcanic deposits are found to be without any comparison the most favourable of all soils for the vegetation and production of cotton. Fine sand, the particles of which are held together by a small portion of clay or calcareous earth is scarcely less desirable, and particularly if mixed with a certain quantity of decomposed vegetable matter. The plant in these cases, although its growth is not luxuriant, will furnish an abundance of cotton of excellent quality, and what is of great importance, it arrives sooner than usual at maturity."

"Cotton may be cultivated on soils of such very moderate fertility, that it would often be difficult to procure from them any other kind of harvest." P. 8: "If the soil be too rich, the shrub will push forth vigorously, and produce a great quantity of flowers; but these will soon fall, and the hopes of the planter will be disappointed. The same misfortune occurs when the ground is surcharged with moisture, besides which the seeds first, and at a later stage the roots, are liable to rot."

"If the soil is sterile and too dry, and these defects are not corrected by means of manure and artificial watering, periodically performed, the plant will scarcely develope itself; it will languish, giving little, if any produce, and inadequately returning the expense of cultivation." Mr. Porter, who was for some years in the West Indies, derives his information partly from personal experience, and partly from persons who have grown the plant in America.

Mr. Gray, a very intelligent merchant, who many years ago went off to the estate of Messrs. Hamilton and Cowper, on St. Simon's Island, and was personally acquainted with Mr. Spalding, corroborates the information of Mr. Porter, and the result of Mr. Solly's analysis.

With regard to the soil of the Sea Islands, Mr. Gray also confirms the statement of Dr. Ure, vol. i., p. 101, wherein he alludes to it in the following words:—

"The accumulation of oysters, clams, and other kinds of shells, mingled with the remains of bones and pottery of the ancient aborigines, is so vast as to fill every stranger with astonishment, and these calcareous matters had become intimately mixed with the sandy soil and decayed vegetables into a peculiar loam, of a light and friable nature. It was upon two or three of these islets, separated from the continent by a few miles of grassy salt marsh, that the Sea Island cotton was first made to grow."

Salt mud is frequently mentioned as a suitable manure for this plant, if mixed with fine sand; above all, however, a light friable loam is most desirable. Mr. Heath, as well as Mr. Hughes, recommends planters to avoid the cotton soil of India for the Bourbon plants. Mr. Heath found his plants thrive well at a considerable distance from the sea coast; and Mr. Gray, who resided on a plantation in America, informs me that very flourishing estates of the true Sea Island cotton exist on the Altamaha and Turtle rivers at a distance of more than twenty miles inland, and where there are no shells nor indications of lime that he is aware of.

Such is the soil suited for American cottons, and abundance of it is found along the Coromandel Coast, in the upper provinces of Bengal, along the Tenasserim Coast, and on the Eastern Islands.

Let us now consider the character of the cotton soil, so favourable for the growth of the indigenous plant.

With respect to the indigenous cottons of India, I am not aware that pains have been taken to ascertain which of all the varieties of *Gossypium* found in different parts of India, can be pronounced indigenous, and which foreign. The plant most extensively grown there at present, is that which is treated as an annual, but which is certainly capable of being continued for more than one year. It succeeds only on a peculiar soil termed cotton ground, on which the cotton of the Western world will not flourish, as has been fully proved by the experiments on the western side of India. I am not aware that this soil has ever been submitted to a scientific analysis; but I know from experience that it does not usually ferment with acids, that during the hot weather it cracks into large fissures of three and four inches wide and considerable depth, and that at that season it is a hard clayey substance, and is brittle like coal. In some parts, where it has lain fallow for many years, and is overgrown with rank grass, it forms into large holes of from three to four feet diameter, and one or two deep. The moment the rains fall on the cultivated parts, the surface swells,

becomes very saponaceous, and is found to be composed of particles of almost impalpable fineness. It readily absorbs and retains the moisture, and forms an extremely tenacious clay. In the months of December, January, and February, when the dews are heavy in the northern part of the Peninsula and Malwa, the surface of the cotton ground assumes a fine mouldy appearance. It generally overlies a white or gray marl, which I have found very beneficial in improving this land. The soil I have been describing, may be termed the great trap field of India; its extent, according to the map which accompanies this memoir, and which is traced from the several geological surveys that have been published, covers an area of 200,000 square miles, and with the exception of the mountains themselves affords space for the cultivation of the indigenous cotton, sufficient to supply clothing for the whole human race. All the American cottons have been found to fail in it, and an erroneous notion prevailed that they would not succeed in India at all, while experiments in other parts on different soils proved successful. A reference to the map will show the spots on which the several varieties of the American plants thrive best, and it seems they are affected by climate as well as by soil. Thus the Upland Georgia and New Orleans have not flourished to the south of Calcutta. The Egyptian has succeeded in two localities in Bengal and Behar, but the Sea Island has failed everywhere in the interior. The Pernambuco or Brazil cotton has yielded well, both on the Coast of Coromandel, and along that of Tenasserim. The Sea Island has answered at Vizagapatam, at Sauger island, and Singapore; and the Bourbon, wherever it has been planted, whether in Guzerat, in the southern part of the Peninsula, or in Mysore, but the produce seems to decrease as we approach the Equator.

Of the origin of the varieties of the cottons now growing in the East, we have very imperfect information, and we can only venture to assert with confidence, that the common indigenous cotton of India is that known to botanists under the title of *Gossypium herbaceum*, which ~~seems~~ to be the same as that of Africa and the south of Europe. In consequence of an observation made in a public lecture delivered at Manchester a short time since on the growth of the Indian cotton, I thought it would be interesting to carry out inquiry beyond that of the information contained in the lecture alluded to. The observation was made by Mr. George Thompson, who expressed himself in the following language:—

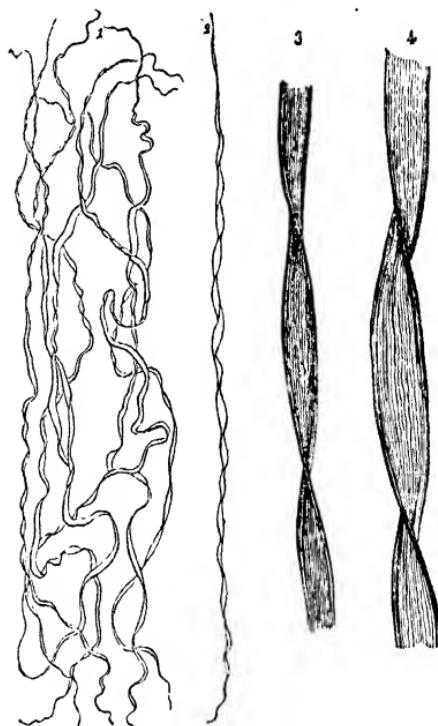
" My excellent and scientific friend, Mr. Clare, informs me that cotton has been spun in this country, so fine, that it required 330 hanks of it to make one pound in weight, and as each hank measured 880 yards, a pound of cotton so spun would extend 165 miles. The diameter of this thread measured by a micrometer attached to a microscope, was found to be the four hundred and eightieth part of an inch. A single thread of fine cotton, however, spun by the fingers of the Hindoo in British India, when measured in the same way, was found to be not the four hundred and eightieth part of an inch, but the one thousandth part of an inch in diameter, so that it required, at least, four such threads of hand-spun British India cotton twisted together to make one thread equal in thickness to the finest machine-spun cotton in this country. He also stated that a certain degree of moisture is required to be used in spinning the fine threads by hand in India, and that to this cause is to be attributed the different appearances of the threads as viewed with a glass of high magnifying power. The fibres of that which was spun by machinery and without moisture were easily distinguished, and seemed to touch each other only in certain places; whilst the fibre of that spun by hand, and with a little moisture, seemed to touch in almost every part, thereby making a stronger thread with the same quantity of cotton of much finer appearance, but not so even in thickness."

Upon reading these observations, I was induced, before bringing this paper before the Society, to submit a series of samples of a variety of cottons to my friend, Mr. Erasmus Wilson, of London, for further examination; and that gentleman has kindly allowed me to embody his notes in this essay.

Notes of Mr. Erasmus Wilson, on the appearance of Cotton examined by a Powell Microscope.

In the dried state, cotton presents a flattened and twisted fibre, thicker in the middle than at each extremity. In some fibres the twists are so numerous as to give the fibres an articulated form, and in this state they resemble a string of oval beads, pointed at each extremity, and connected by their points. Beneath the microscope, the flattened fibre is opaque along each border, and translucent in the centre; and along the central line may be observed the texture of which its interior is composed.

Examined with a compound microscope manufactured by Powell, with a lens which magnifies five hundred times linear measure, the fibre appears composed of innumerable minute flexuous tubes, of equal diameter, disposed longitudinally and closely aggregated together. Upon the surface the tubes seem to be arranged in a longitudinal parallel series, which gives to the fibre a delicately fluted or striated appearance.



No. 1. A few of the dried fibres of cotton, showing their characteristic twisted appearance and interlaced arrangement, when viewed with a magnifying power of one hundred linear measure.

No. 2. A single fibre, showing its tapering and twisted form.

No. 3. Part of a fibre of Sea-Island cotton magnified five hundred times linear measure, exhibiting its tubular structure.

No. 4. Part of a fibre of New Orleans cotton, showing its broader and thinner appearance, and also displaying the peculiar tubular structure, magnified five hundred times linear measure.

The fibre immersed for some time in water, assumes a cylindrical form, which I apprehend is its appearance in a fresh state upon the plant; it is then obviously composed of a tubular parenchyma, enclosed in a thin transparent cylinder. In some few instances I found that, after steeping in water, the delicate green of the plant was restored.

The immersion in water destroys the twist of the fibre, so that this appearance may be considered as referrible to the desiccation, and is probably increased or diminished in proportion to the heat of the climate or atmosphere at the time of drying. The degree of twisting in the specimens of cotton now before me, appears to range in the following order;—greatest in the Egyptian, Sea-Island, Pernambuco, Surat, Bowed Georgia, New Orleans, Tavoy, the latter showing the least twist.

The fibres differ also in breadth and thickness; according to these qualities they may be arranged in the following order:—

Sea-Island	}	thick and narrow.
Surat		
Egyptian	}	thin and broad.
Pernambuco		
Bowed Georgia	}	thin and broad.
Tavoy		
New Orleans		very thin and broad.

Examined with the naked eye, they appear to follow each other in this order, with reference to breadth;—1.—New Orleans. 2.—Bowed Georgia. 3.—Egyptian. 4.—Pernambuco. 5.—Tavoy. 6.—Surat. 7.—Sea-Island.

The most important inquiry relates to length of staple, and in that I am enabled to supply precise information.

The following is the result of accurate measurement of twelve fibres of cotton of each sort, taken indifferently from the samples with which I was furnished:—

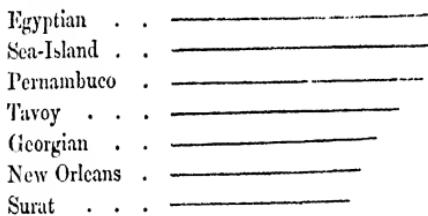
		inch.
Egyptian	maximum . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{8}$
	minimum . . .	1 $\frac{5}{8}$ $\frac{5}{6}$
Sea-Island	maximum . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{8}$
	minimum . . .	1 $\frac{4}{5}$ $\frac{4}{6}$

		inch.
Pernambuco . . .	{ maximum . . .	1 $\frac{4}{5}$
	minimum . . .	1 $\frac{1}{5}$
Tavoy	{ maximum . . .	1 $\frac{9}{10}$
	minimum . . .	1 $\frac{1}{5}$
Upland Georgia . .	{ maximum . . .	1 $\frac{6}{20}$
	minimum . . .	1
New Orleans . . .	{ maximum . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	minimum . . .	1
Surat	{ maximum . . .	1 $\frac{1}{10}$
	minimum . . .	1 $\frac{7}{10}$

The difference of length in the same cotton, depends upon the length at which the fibre is broken from the seed. The entire fibre should taper finely to both ends, the adherent end being slightly the thickest; frequently the end of the fibre retains a certain size, in which case the whole length of the tapering portion is broken off.

The threads of Indian and English fine cloth contain about the same number of fibres:—in the English thread I counted thirty-five; in the Indian thirty; but the fibres of the latter were so closely compressed as to defy separation without the loss of a few fibres.

The relative lengths of staple of these cottons are more obviously expressed in the following diagram:—



From the above notes, we find that moisture has a tendency to unravel the tortuous nature of the cotton fibre; that the Sea-Island and Surat then assume a more cylindrical form, and, consequently, a narrower and finer appearance than the New Orleans, which is the broadest and flattest of all. It is to this circumstance may be ascribed the more close adhesion of cotton

fibre in the thread, when it is moistened in spinning, than when it is spun dry; as well as to the natural shape of the fibre of the East Indian cotton, which is more cylindrical and finer than the New Orleans. To this, however, may be added another cause, which is perhaps more important still, namely, the passage of the thread through the finger and thumb, in the manipulation of hand-spinning, whereby each particular filament is, as it were, laid in the fold of the twist and retained there till fixed before it passes on, whereas we know that in the rotatory action given to the yarn, in the spinning jenny of machinery, a considerable centrifugal motion prevails which has a tendency to throw parts of the filament from the thread, and produces that unequal adhesion perceived by Mr. Clare in the machine-spun twist of our British manufacturers.

The facts brought to light by means of these microscopic observations afford an idea of the delicacy of the Indian cotton beyond anything of which we could have had any conception. Mr. Erasmus Wilson counted distinctly 35 filaments in the English spun thread, and more than 30 in the Indian hand-spun thread. Mr. Clare on measuring the bulk of the English thread as compared with the Indian spun, found that it would require four of the latter to form a single thread of the former, of which 330 hanks go to a pound. In other words, that 120 filaments of Indian cotton spun by the hand would be required to form a thread equal in diameter to the very finest thread of 35 filaments spun by machinery in England.

Independent of fineness of staple, however, length appears to be of the highest importance, and we find, therefore, that quality for the most part regulates the price; still the superior fineness of the Sea-Island cotton, combined with its length, which does not exceed the Egyptian and is very little superior to the Pernambuco, gives to the former a specific extra value in the market of from sixty to eighty per cent.

* The inferiority of the Surat or Indian cotton consists in its want of length alone. It is highly appreciated for its fineness and strength, and if properly cleaned and carefully cultivated, must always bear a fair competition in the English market with the New Orleans and Upland Georgia, so largely grown in the interior of the Southern States of the American Union, and so extensively imported into Great Britain.

PART II.

ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS.

IN the former pages of this treatise I have, I think, demonstrated that India has for ages been a cotton-growing country. That its indigenous cotton, when properly attended to, can be brought into the British market in a condition very nearly equal to the inland American cottons, and that there are 200,000 square miles of soil suited for its growth, about one half of which is at present out of cultivation.

The experiments made to grow the cottons foreign to India, such as the Egyptian, Sea Island, Inland American, (that is to say New Orleans and Upland Georgian,) Bourbon, or West India Island, and Pernambuco or Brazil cotton, have more or less succeeded in those parts of India where the native plant does not thrive, and the map, with the explanation appended, shows in what provinces the several varieties of the Western plant have succeeded, omitting all notice of those where the trials have failed.

I would here, however, call the reader's attention to the circumstances under which these attempts have been made, in order to show that the results afford the most cheering hopes of success on all future occasions. Almost the whole of these trials to grow the Western cottons have been conducted by amateur planters. They have been stimulated by no present pecuniary motive, nor by any future commercial expectation. They have, for the most part, been public officers of the Government, influenced by no stronger incentive than the gratification of horticultural or agricultural curiosity. They have ~~en~~arked no capital in the speculation, nor do they pretend to any knowledge of the subject whatever, yet we find that whether along the coasts or in the interior, whether on fine sandy deposits near the sea shore, or in gravelly tracks inland, one or other description of the most valuable kinds of American cottons have thriven well, so that there is every reason to conclude, that the Western cottons of the best quality may be grown in perfection in many parts of India. In such a country, however, where there is so great a demand for

cotton of every description, and where the bow renders it as clean and as free from impurities as the most complicated machinery in England, there are not the same motives for gathering the wool clean from the plant as would be absolutely necessary to suit the European market, and we ought not to wonder that the material which is imported to us without being bowed should reach us in the adulterated state it now does. There is abundant proof, however, that by a careful supervision on the spot, and by increased prices for clean picked cotton, our merchants may, if they give themselves the trouble, procure the article in as clean a state without being bowed as they can from America. I have already shown, (page 24,) that when the common Bazar cotton at Nowlgoond was selling at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound, it cost Dr. Lush $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ to have it well picked and cleaned though by a most expensive process. This cotton, the indigenous growth of the country, sold at $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ when Upland Georgia was selling at $9d.$ per pound.

The indigenous cotton has seldom, on an average, produced so much as 100 pounds per acre, but it has not been fairly tried with fit manure and proper husbandry, that I am aware of, except at Najafgar, in the upper provinces of Bengal, where, when carefully cultivated and manured, the produce is stated to amount to 328 pounds of clean cotton per acre. In Bundekund, also, a peculiar soil is spoken of, whereon the indigenous cotton sometimes produces as much as 707 pounds per acre ; and Dr. Wight found in one place, (at Vizagapatam,) the Sea Island producing 290 pounds per acre.

There can be no question, therefore, that under common circumstances England might get all its cotton from India ; but that country is not placed in ordinary circumstances, as compared with the rest of the world :—

1st. It has an overflowing and naturally industrious population, with millions of acres of uncultivated soil, on which the Government imposes a tax so onerous that the inhabitants cannot cultivate it and thrive.

2nd. It has a system of imposts on the raw produce of that soil where it is raised, which prevents its finding a profitable market.

3rd. There are few or no means of transporting the raw produce for want of roads, which the people thus heavily taxed are unable of themselves to construct.

The weight of the land-tax, as affecting the growth of cotton, is first adverted to by Mr. Bebb, the commercial resident at Dacca, as

far back as 1789, who observes,—“The gain of rearing cotton is about sufficient to allow a bare subsistence to the husbandman, and not much more. In fact he has no inducement to attempt to get more, for the Zemnidar (the government collector) would probably wrest it from him ; and this must continue till such time as settling the largest jumma (assessment) and incurring the least balance shall cease to be the highest point of official reputation ; till the demands of Government shall be known and determined, and till the laws shall protect individuals against occasional, partial, and uncertain attempts to increase the revenue.” Mr. Bebb returned to England, and was for many years an East India Director, and until his death, which happened not long since, he always advocated the same enlightened and benevolent policy as is revealed in the above sentiments.

The necessity of fixing the land-tax in perpetuity in the Company’s provinces in India was very generally admitted by all the public servants for many years previously to the time when it took place in Bengal, and both the Ministers of the Crown and the Court of Directors hailed with apparent satisfaction the permanent settlement made by the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1793, in the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Nothing could be more wise than the principle which limited the demand of the State for ever on the land, so as to admit of the soil yielding a rent to the landholder, and becoming a valuable saleable property, to the improvement of which every motive of self-interest combined. Unfortunately this settlement was made with the wrong persons, and the real proprietors were in some degree by law viewed as cultivating serfs of the manager of the district. Without entering minutely into this question, on which so much has been written, I may just remark, that each Hindu village is in itself a small republic, having its own municipal laws and managing its own concerns. The lands of the village belong to the original occupants, who, in the language of the country, are called (as in Scotland) the heritors. These elect one or more head men or managers of the concerns of their body, and of these one usually is the representative between the village and the government. In ancient times, the whole of the crops of different descriptions were brought together, and the State claimed and took away its portion, varying from 10 to 17½ per cent. in different places and in different ages. The Mahomedans increased this demand to 25 and even to 33½ per cent. The principle of the assessment, however, was to take a portion of the produce, it was then put into granaries for the soldiers, or converted into money either

by selling it to merchants or to the villagers themselves. In the latter case, however, it was distinctly understood that the conversion into money was optional, and it was positively forbidden, both by Hindu and Mahomedan sovereigns, to compel the villagers to pay money, if they declined doing so. In many cases, and especially in later times, before we obtained possession of the country, villages agreed to pay certain money assessments to the state in lieu of dividing the crops. On such occasions the assessment had reference to the amount realized in former years, and under all good native governments was more or less permanent. This was especially the case when the revenues had been assigned to some great chief for his support, or for the maintenance of troops, and instances occur of the same assessment not having been altered during one or two reigns. Several villages formed a district or county, and in the same way as there was a head man to each village so was there a head man, or count, to each district or county.

In Bengal he was denominated *Zemindar*; his duties were to preserve the peace, superintend the police, keep up the roads, and protect commerce; but his most important duty was to realize the revenue for the Government from each village. He was in every respect the representative of the district on the one hand, and the organ of the Government on the other, receiving 10 per cent. of the gross revenue, for the performance of these several duties. When we took charge of the country from the Mahomedans, who gave it up to our management, or from whom we acquired it by treaty; it may easily be conceived that it was the object of these official persons to represent themselves as the subordinate lords of their districts. Few, if any, of the European public servants then spoke the native languages, and hardly any held communication direct with the rural population, not even with the heads of villages, and it was several years after the permanent settlement was concluded in Bengal with these *Zemindars* for ever, that the discovery was made that they who by that now law had been constituted the proprietors of every acre of land, were in reality nothing more than the hereditary representatives and supervisors each of his own county; possessing considerable landed property, it is true, inherited from ancestors to whom the villages had in former times granted it, or from which estates had been purchased. The error committed in the permanent settlement, led as may be imagined to great confusion of rights; and perhaps in no country in the world, has the violation of landed property been so

complete as in some parts of the Bengal Presidency, where this measure was introduced. The question, however, is so far settled that the land-tax is fixed for ever; and to this fact may be ascribed mainly the success of the European planters in the cultivation of indigo, and it will, there is little doubt, now be carried out in the production of sugar. As regards cotton, however, I fear it *may* be found that few portions of those territories into which the permanent assessment was carried are favourable to its growth.

Cuttack, a province lying along the eastern sea-coast, in north latitude 21° , is strictly speaking, in the province of Orissa, but as it is an acquisition subsequent to the formation of the permanent settlement, its land-tax has been open to the same system of experiments for obtaining the largest quantity of revenues, as has prevailed in other parts of India. The village settlements that have lately been made in that province are favourably spoken of, and (as it is well situated for exportation) Cuttack may be looked to as one of the spots offering an advantageous position for commercial enterprise in cotton, as it has been clearly shown, p. 26, that the Bourbon, (a plant closely allied to the Sea Island in its character,) and the Pernambuco, both flourish there in perfection. The specimens of New Orleans, Upland Georgia, and Egyptian, from the territory lying to the northward, and westward of Calcutta, especially about Delhi, indicate fair promise of good crops of an excellent article. The water conveyance down the rivers Jumna and the Ganges to the sea, is a circumstance peculiarly favourable to its transport; though the distance cannot be less than 700, and oftentimes may be 1000 or 1100, miles from the place of its growth. The system of realizing the revenue in those districts by putting it up to sale, in lots of one or more villages, every three or five years, to the highest bidder, so entirely unsettled landed property, that its existence even was threatened with annihilation. A remedy was suggested in my work on the land-tax of India, published in 1830, (vide pages 429 to 438,) and it is highly gratifying to me to find that the plan I then pointed out has been since partially adopted, and is in progress throughout the ceded and conquered provinces under the Agra Presidency, with the material difference, however, that the assessment has only been fixed for thirty years, whereas I strongly urged its being rendered permanent, and the average of the tax assumed from the payments of the previous ten years instead of thirty as suggested by me.

This measure, incomplete as it is, will I hope open at once to the

enterprise of the European merchant a field for obtaining New Orleans and Upland Georgia cotton equal to that now imported from North America, and I trust it may be grown and introduced into England at a price much below what the American planter can afford to sell it for.

The Province of Bundlekund, still smarting under an oppressive system of land-tax management, is especially favourable for the growth of some of the Western, as well as the Indian cottons; the soil in different parts being favourable to both.

Mr. William Bruce, residing at Calpy, on the banks of the Jumna in the northernmost part of Bundlekund, was called on by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Calcutta, in 1836, to answer certain queries on the subject of cotton-growing in the province. His reply is dated June 28th, 1836, and though somewhat long is here subjoined in his own words.

Queries on the Culture of Cotton in Bundelkund, proposed by Mr. G. F. HODGKINSON. The Replies by Mr. W. BRUCE, of Calpee.

1. Size of the Beegah?

The Jurreebee beegah, which is current in Bundlekhund, measures 18,225 square feet.

2. Quality of the soil? •

There are mostly five descriptions of soil to be met with in Bundlekhund: 1st. the "Maura," or black marl of the first quality; 2nd. the "Kauber," or black marl of the second quality; 3rd. the "Teer," or lands on the banks of rivers and nundees, subject to annual inundation; 4th. the "Purwah," or mixture of sand and clay; and 5th. the "Raukur," or mixture of lime, stone, and clay.

The two first are peculiar to Bundlekhund and Malwah, and produce the most luxuriant crops of cotton, as well as grain, when the rains are moderate. The third is exclusively retained for winter crops. The fourth, accordingly as it is rich or poor, is either sown with the Khurreef (rainy-season crops), or Rubbee (winter crops), such as wheat, barley, &c. The fifth and last, being about the ravines and broken grounds, where the water washes off as fast almost as it falls, the soil is considered too poor for any other than the rainy season crops. Cotton, however, is also sown in it; and when the crops in the richer soils get injured from excessive rain, they thrive in the Raukur.

3. Rent, or government-tax?

	R.	A.	R.	A.	Average Sterling per Acre.	l.	s.	d.
Maura	pays from	1	13	to	2	8	per beegah	0 13 3
Kaubur	"	1	8	to	2	0	" .	0 7 0
Teer	"	2	0	to	5	0	" .	1 1 0
Purwah	"	1	2	to	2	8	" .	0 10 6
Rankur	"	1	0	to	1	8	" .	0 8 0

4. Period of sowing?

In Bundelkund the cotton is invariably sown at the commencement of the periodical rains to yield good produce.

5. Reaping?

If the season is favourable, the Kuppaus (the cotton with the seed) begins to be collected about the middle of September from poorer soils, but from the Maura and Kaubur, not before the end of October. In the richer soils of Beergur and Sutwarrah, situated along the foot of the mountains intersecting Bundelkund, the cotton plants are longer coming to maturity. The Beergur and Sutwarrah are considered superior qualities of the Bandah, and sell higher at Mirzapore.

6. Produce of cotton and seed?

As the land is rich, or otherwise, and the attention that has been paid, so the produce will be. Some of the Maura lands yield as high as 9 maunds of kuppaus, which will give $\frac{1}{3}$ of clean cotton, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of seed*. The Maura land on an average, however, yields half of the estimated quantity; the produce of the Purwah and Raukur is less in proportion to the difference of the soil, seldom more than an average of 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ seers of clean cotton, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of seed are obtained from the Purwah, and 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ seers of the former, and 3 maunds of the latter from the Raukur.

7. Expense per beegah of cultivation, and picking per maund?•

Cotton never being sown alone, the expense cannot be separately ascertained correctly. It is mixed either with the urheer, the tillie, or mootee. Very often these extraneous mixtures more than pay for

* This produce would, at 82 pounds per maund, be equal to 269 pounds of clean cotton per beegah, and 707 pounds per acre, or on an average 353 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds per acre.

† 80 pounds.

‡ 60 pounds.

the land-rent and labour of the whole cultivation. Two ploughings and three weedings are considered sufficient for cotton. The ploughings cost about eight anas, and the weedings about twelve anas more. Where the cultivation is extensive, and the proprietor is obliged to seek the aid of others to pick the cotton as it blows in the field, a twentieth part of what is so collected is allowed to the people so employed, instead of payment in cash.

8. Date or period and expense of transmission per bale or maund?

This query is rather ambiguously worded; the reply can only be in general terms. The poorer classes of cultivators have little concern either with the time or expense of transmission. After the seed is sown they require the aid of the village bunneas (bankers) to enable them to weed, and attend to their cotton and other crops, which, from the time the assistance is granted, become in a manner mortgaged to the latter; at least, they have the entire disposal of the produce. Owing to this circumstance, the Kuppaus, as it is gathered, is made over to the bunnea*, who separates the cotton from the seed, and sells it to repay himself. The cultivator in this case realizes less than the ryot, who is in good circumstances, and does not stand in need of assistance.

The necessity of the first, forces his cotton into the market immediately as it is collected. As the seed of the second is separated by himself, and as he and his family have little leisure until the khureef (harvest) is housed, and their rubbee sown, their cotton comes considerably later into the market. The one is neglected and badly cleaned, the other carefully attended to, and of better quality; the one realizes, on an average, eight† anas a maund more than the other in the market.

The expense of transmission depends upon distance, and the facility, or otherwise, of land or water conveyance.

When hired labourers are required to separate the cotton from the seed, the price of the seeds obtained is considered equal to the expense of doing so.

A rupee is usually paid by the bunneas for every maund of clean cotton obtained from the kuppaus.

9. Mode of cultivation; seed required per beegah; and size of plants?

* These small country bankers become the ultimate vendors of the produce.

† One shilling.

Land which has had a winter crop is generally selected the following year for cotton. The seed being previously rubbed with fresh cow-dung between the hands, is sown broadcast. The cow-dung is used to prevent the seeds from adhering together, and acts also as manure. In land of this description, after the seed has been scattered, the soil is once ploughed, and the break passed over. Three seers of seed are required for one beegah*. The seeds shoot out in about five days. The plants require the first weeding in ten or fifteen days, the second in about a month, and the third fifteen or twenty days after. If the plants are found to be too thick, they are plucked, and left about a foot apart. The freer the circulation of air in the field, the better will be its produce. Some plants grow to the height of six feet, some to one foot. The plants in the black marl are on an average four feet, in the other soil two feet. The plants begin to blossom early in August, but seldom come to pod before the commencement of September.

10. Would it be difficult to introduce a new and better system of cultivation, under the superintendence of a European?

The only objection to a new system would be, I fancy, its expensiveness. It is not the want of proper supervision which deteriorates the produce so much as the poverty of the cultivators in Bundelkhund. Often the produce of the most promising fields, and of the better classes of ryots, is injured from no neglect or fault of theirs, but from the poverty of their landlords. If the zemindar, or landlord, has not immediately the means of raising money to liquidate the Government kist or instalment, the ryots are not allowed to touch, or collect the produce of their fields until security is given. The cotton, in the meantime, falls to the ground, mixes with the leaves and dust, and deteriorates in quality. *The ryots, I have had ample opportunities of knowing, could not pay more attention to their cotton cultivation, were they placed under European superintendence, than what they bestow upon it now. The removal of their poverty would more effectually tend to the improvement of quality than anything else I know of.*

11. Could a small village in an eligible situation be had in farm; and is it likely that the ryots would receive advances partly in the shape of rent, and partly in cash?

* $2\frac{1}{4}$ gallons of seed per acre.

The zemindars are so poor, owing to the late famine and former over-assessments, that landed property bears a wonderful discount in Bundelkund. Villages may be had in farm almost for nothing. The zemindars and ryots, I am inclined to believe, would most willingly contract to cultivate cotton with any one at a certain rate per beegah, or would engage to deliver its produce at a certain rate per maund. The latter, it appears to me, would be the most eligible plan of the two. This shall be explained more fully under the head of General Remarks.

12. Could the cultivation be carried on by the neej system?

Although the neej* system would be more expensive, the produce would be unexceptionable.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The ryots, I have no doubt, would be most willing to engage with any one, for the cultivation of cotton, at the rates which they agreed with me for indigo per beegah in Bundelkund. For the richer soils, which are more expensive to weed, the rate was 2 rupees 4 annas the beegah†; for the poorer, requiring less weeding, 1 rupee 13 annas per beegah. Seed was furnished to the ryots, and the ground-rent paid for them besides. Their contracts were understood to include two ploughings, sowing, covering the seed with the break, two weedings, cutting and conveying the plant to the vats. To ascertain what a maund of cotton, under such a contract, would cost, it would be necessary to form a general average of the rent (land-tax) prevailing in Bundelkund, and to add thereto the average of the contract rates, and to decide them by the average of "produce and seed." For the reply of the head of "rent," or tax, the average of

	R.	A.	P.
Maura, amounting to per beegah	2	2	6
Kaubur, " "	1	12	0
Purwah, " "	1	13	0
Raukur, " "	1	4	0
	4)	6	15
			6
General average	‡	1	11
			10

* Neej, or Nichy, signifying under private management,—that is to say, the management of the cotton-merchant himself.

† 4s. 6d., or 13s. 6d. per acre.

‡ Best land, 13s. 3d. per acre; worst land, 7s. per acre; average, 10s. 6d.

	R.	A.	P.
Brought forward	1	11	10½
Add average contract rate	2	0	6
Three seers of cotton seed	0	0	10
Cost per beegah, exclusive of establishment	3	13	2½

In reply to the head 6 of "produce of cotton and seed," is given the average of

Maura, per beegah	Mds.*	1	20	0
Purwah, "		1	0	0
Raukur, "		0	30	0
		3	10	0
Deduct expense of picking, 1-20th		0	6	8
		3	3	8
General average produce	†	1	1	2

The preceding calculations show that Maunds 1—1—2½ of clean cotton would cost about 3 rupees, 13 annas, 2½ pies, (this is little more than the actual cost of the ryots,) exclusive of servants and establishment.

By the neej system the cost of the cotton would be much greater. Everything would have to be provided, such as bullocks, ploughs, ploughmen, at monthly wages, feed of bullocks, and fifty other expensive et ceteras. The difference between voluntary and compulsory labour must also be taken into consideration. A man working for his own benefit will do twice as much as people hired by the day. The risk under the neej system would fall upon the speculator alone; the system of advances would divide the risk between the speculator and cultivator. If, through any unusual or unforeseen drought, the average produce per beegah was reduced to half the estimated quantity, no actual loss would still be incurred. In the ratio that the produce failed, through drought, it is assumed the price would rise, even half the estimated quantity (if it cost 6 rupees)

* Kuppaus	Mds.	4	20	0
Deduct two-thirds seed		3	0	0
One-third, or clean cotton		1	20	0
† 82 lbs. per beegah, or 246 lbs. per acre.				

would not be unreasonable. Well-cleaned cotton, of a fair staple, would at any time realize 12 rupees per maund*.

When I first came into Bundlekhund, I was in the habit of making advances annually to the ryots for cotton in the months of July and August, generally at 8 rupees per maund, upon the security of the zemindars of their villages. As long as the Government assessment was moderate, and the landed proprietors in easy circumstances, the system was profitable, and answered remarkably well. This cotton seldom cost me more than 10 rupees† a maund, including balance and establishment. The contracts being for the first produce of the fields, it secured me cotton of a most superior quality at a cheap rate. *I was obliged, however, to abandon the system altogether when the Government assessment was raised. As the zemindars and ryots became impoverished, so the risk of balances increased, and rendered the speculation precarious. As long as landed property remained valuable, the security of the zemindars was considered safe, but they are so poor now, that advances made upon such security would be hazardous.*

W. BRUCE.

Calpcc, June 28th, 1836.

So that it appears that poverty produced by over-assessment, seems to be the sole barrier to excellent cotton being had on the banks of a navigable river, at 12 or 10 rupees per maund of 82 lbs. ; or 1½d. and 1¾d. per lb. When the thirty years' settlement if found to be sufficiently low shall be extended to Bundlekhund, it may hope to share, with the neighbouring provinces, a portion of the cotton market, as the land and climate are suitable, and the proximity of a navigable river is available at all times for water conveyance.

It has been seen that the western coast of the Malayan Peninsula is found adapted to the growth of the Pernambuco cotton, and to the Sea Island. Its maritime position, too, is favourable for its exportation, and it is believed that the land assessment, though not fixed, is on a footing that will admit of cotton, sugar, and many other articles of tropical growth being produced to advantage.

In passing from the Malayan Peninsula to the opposite shores of Coromandel, we find a line of coast with numerous sea-ports, extending

* About 3½d. per lb.

† 2¾d. per lb.

from Balasore on the north, to Cape Comorin on the south, a distance of nine hundred miles; along which varieties of American and indigenous cottons of excellent qualities, have been found to thrive, though the experiments of the former have been limited to certain localities, and have been conducted on a small scale. Dr. Wight, to whose labours I have before alluded, has furnished us with a table showing the quantity of cotton produced, per acre, in this region, the amount of the land-tax, and the eventual profit to the grower. How he has arrived at this last item, I have no means of judging, but his table is otherwise valuable.

Dr. WIGHT's Table of Produce, Charge, Assessment, and Profit, on an Acre of Cotton Land, in Thirteen Districts on the Madras Coast.

DISTRICTS.	Kind of Cotton.	Produce without seed, per acre.	Charges.	Assessment.			Profit.	Sown.	Gathered.
				R. A. P.	R. A. P.	R. A. P.			
Ganjam . . .	C. Cotton.	94	10 0 0	2 8 0	10 0 0	December	June to Septem.		
Vizagapatam . . .	C. Cotton.	290	10 8 0	14 0 0	12 8 0	June	November.		
Masulipatam . . .	C. Cotton.	150	2 11 6	2 11 7	0 8 11	Unknown	Unknown.		
Rajahmundry . . .	C. White do.	97	4 8 0	6 15 0	0 10 6	June	March to May.		
" . . .	C. Red do.	125	4 8 0	3 0 0	8 8 0	October	April.		
Gumtoor . . .	C. Cotton.	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 11 8	1 9 8	1 10 8	Septem.	Feb. and March.		
Tanjore . . .	C. Cotton.	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 7 6	0 7 6	3 8 10	January	May and June.		
Trichinopoly . . .	C. Cotton.	194	3 6 6	5 5 5	9 14 1	Nov & Dec	April and May.		
Salem	C. Cotton.	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 0 0	5 0 0	3 0 0	{ June 1 to Sept.	1 crop February. 2d do November.		
"	Bourbon.	94	6 8 0	5 0 0	3 8 0	{ May to Aug.	1 crop October. 2d Feb. to April. 1 or. Feb to Ap.		
Coimbatore . . .	C. Cotton.	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0 4	1 8 8	2 6 0	October	2d ditto August 1st year Aug. 2d do. Feb. 3d do. Aug. and September.		
" . . .	Triennial do.	72	3 13 11	1 0 8	2 9 5	{ Aug. to Oct.	2d do. Feb. 3d do. Aug. and September.		
" . . .	Bourbon do.	68	3 15 4	1 0 8	3 0 0	Ditto	Ditto.		
Madura . . .	C. Cotton.	44	6 10 8	0 14 7	7 0 11	Oct. & No.	Feb. to April.		
Tinnivelly . . .	C. Cotton.	{ 98 69 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 4 0	2 1 7	2 1 8	{ July to October	January to June.		

* $\frac{1}{2}$ * Average about 108 lbs. of clean cotton per acre.

In the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, where the land is under the management of the native chiefs, it is found that cotton yields per acre, a profit of 10 rupees, or 11. 5s. in the former, and 11. 5s. in the latter. In the

remainder of the territory under the direct management of the Government, the profits average about 16s. an acre, and, in two cases they do not exceed 15d. The latter low state of agricultural return, arises mainly out of the system of finance adopted in Madras, in opposition to that of Bengal. Throughout this territory an attempt has been made to fix an assessment, not on each province, as in Bengal, or on each village, as in the north-western provinces of Hindostan, but on each field; and in the course of this operation, the serious evil of a generally impoverished race of cultivators, pervades the Madras territories more than elsewhere. This system has been constantly assailed by one branch of the civil service at Madras; while, on the other hand, it has its advocates. When first introduced, it was thus described by the Board of Revenue of Madras. "Ignorant of the true resources of the newly-acquired countries as of the precise nature of their landed tenures, we find a small band of foreign conquerors no sooner obtaining possession of a vast extent of territory, peopled by various nations, differing from each other in language, customs, and habits, than they attempt what would be deemed an Herculean task, or rather a visionary project, even in the most civilized countries of Europe, of which every statistical information is possessed, and of which the government and the people are one, viz. to fix a *land rent*, not on each province, district, or county, nor on each estate or farm, but on *every separate field* in their dominions. In support of this supposed improvement, we find them unintentionally dissolving the ancient ties which united the republic of each Hindoo village, and, by a kind of agrarian law, newly assessing and parcelling out the lands, which from time immemorial belonged to the village community collectively, not only among the individual members of privileged orders, but even among the inferior tenantry; we observe them, ignorantly denying, and by their denial abolishing, *private property* in the land; resuming what belonged to a public body (the rental to all the proprietors), and conferring, in lieu of it, a stipend in money on one individual; professing to limit their demand on each field; and, in fact, by establishing for such limit an unattainable maximum, *assessing the ryot at discretion*; and, like the Mussulman government which preceded them, binding the cultivator by force to the plough; compelling him to till land acknowledged to be over assessed; dragging him, if he absconded; deferring their demand upon him, until his crop came to maturity; then taking from him all that could be obtained, and leaving to him nothing but his bullocks and seed grain; nay, perhaps, obliged to supply him even

with these in order to enable him to resume his melancholy task of toiling for others."

The tract of country ceded to the British Government by the Nizam in 1799, was subjected to the process of survey and assessment above described, and, after the expenditure of some hundred thousand of rupees, it terminated in 1807-8. So advantageous was the measure then supposed to be to the people, as well as profitable to the Government, that it was anticipated a great increase of revenue would accrue to the state by the occupation of waste lands, but this expectation neither has, nor ever will be realized. The soil of this territory is chiefly of that description denominated cotton ground, and under Tippoo's government it was celebrated for the vast quantity of cotton it produced. It was divided by us into two portions of nearly equal dimensions, called the Bellaree and Kurpah divisions.

In the year 1816 the Madras Government called upon all the civil authorities of the districts under that Presidency, to report on the condition of the cotton produce in each. That from the ceded districts is extracted from the *Cotton Report; published by the East India Company in 1836*, p. 414, and is as follows.

BELLAREE DIVISION.

Par. 1. "In this division of the ceded districts, 170,958 acres of land were cultivated in Fusly 1221 (A. D. 1814-15), the survey rent (or land-tax) of which amounted to pagodas 814,738, 22, 40. The produce was estimated at 40,710 candies, 2 maunds, inclusive of seeds, producing 10,156 candies, 14 maunds, without seeds.

2. "During the same period, cotton to the amount of 12,731 candies, 17 maunds, was imported; and 17,223 candies, 11 maunds, of that article were exported.

3. "The average price of cotton, during the last twelve years, is 16 pagodas, 42 fanams and a quarter, (say 17 pagodas,) per candy of 500 lbs.; the average price in this district, in Fusly 1221 (A. D. 1814-15,) is 14 pagodas, 12 fanams, and 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ cash."

In the first of these paragraphs the quantity of cotton produced is less than 30 lbs. per acre; and the third paragraph exhibits the remarkable fact that the sale price of the whole was only 114,360 pagas, 22 f. 40 c., while the government tax on the land whereon it was grown is stated in the first paragraph to be 814,738 pagas, 22 f. 40 c.,

being nearly six times the amount of the sale produce. In this statement I am convinced there must be some error.

6. "The land fit for cotton cultivation, including waste and enam, (or tax-free,) amounts to 1,460,933 acres. The land actually cultivated at the time of survey was 911,803 acres, the survey-rent (or tax) of which was 446, 6, 74." (pagodas.)

Whatever be the errors in the amount of assessment in this document, one fact stands prominently forward, which is, that from the period when the assessment was made, in the Bellaree district, a very few years before the report now quoted was written, no fewer than 740,845 acres of land growing cotton had been abandoned, and the district which before not only supplied its own wants, but the surrounding countries, at the time of the report, 1814-15, actually received from the neighbouring provinces of a native prince, (the Nizam,) more cotton than itself raised. It shows that the Bellaree district, one subdivision of the Madras ceded districts, had, in 1807, 1,460,933 acres of land fit for the culture of cotton, of which 911,803 acres were actually so cultivated at that period. In 1814 there were only 170,958 acres in cotton culture, yielding 10,156 candies, of 500 lbs., or 5,278,000 lbs. Now, 911,803 acres, yielding 108 lbs. of clean cotton per acre, being the average of all Dr. Wight's experience in other parts of the same territory, would exhibit no less an amount than 98,474,724 lbs., which is considerably more than all the cotton imported into Great Britain, from all our Eastern possessions, in the year 1838. The continuation of the same Report seems to explain the cause.

7. "The average rent (tax) of land capable of producing cotton is 18 fanams 59 cash per acre. The highest rent (assessment) averages 1 pagoda, 4 fanams, 68 cash; the lowest 2 fanams, 33 cash."

8. "The average expense of cultivating five acres of land, already brought under tillage, is estimated at 2 pagodas, 14 fanams, 61 $\frac{1}{4}$ cash, including the price of seeds, which leaves a net profit to the ryot of 2 pagodas, 30 fanams, 18 cash, (19s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. sterling, or 3s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per acre.) *But the produce appears to be undervalued, and the expense over-rated.*" No reason, however, is assigned for this belief, and, if so, why was the former statement made ?

The collector's account, according to his own showing, stands thus:—

	£. s. d.
Value of 150 lbs. of cotton, produced on five acres of land, at the average price of twelve preceding years, or 2½d. per lb., is	1 15 0
	£. s. d.
Average land-tax 18f. 59c., or 3s. 1½d. per acre, is	0 15 7½
Expense of cultivating five acres, being 2p. 14f. 61c., at 7s. per pagoda, is	0 16 5½
Deduct expense and tax	1 12 1
Net profit on five acres	0 2 11

In Kurpah the other division of the ceded districts the collector reports, p. 413, as follows:

Par. 7. "There are four sorts of land on which cotton is cultivated in this division. The amount of the rent (tax) of one acre is stated, by the amildar, (the government officer of a small district,) to be from 19 fanams, 10 cash, to 1 pagoda and 35 cash. The expenses of cultivation from 31 fanams, 20 cash, to 1 pagoda, 21 fanams, 24 cash. This account, however, evidently appears to be exaggerated, and the following will be found to be nearer the truth.

	P. C.
Average of the four sorts of land per acre	22 40
Ploughing, cooley-hire, beds, &c.	22 38
	Fanams 44 78

"The produce of the same quantity of land may be estimated at 1 pagoda, 16 fanams, 8 cash, which leaves a profit of 16 fanams, 10 cash."

If we put the collector's statement in *juxta-position* with that of the native officer from whom he obtained his information, but which he afterwards rejected, without any reason assigned, we shall find the condition of the cultivator to be bad indeed.

One remarkable feature pervades these reports of the European collectors of two distinct districts, made without inter-communication, which is, that they both set aside, without any assigned cause, the

evidence of the native officer from whom they are obliged to seek information, and declare that the statement of expense of cultivation is evidently exaggerated in both cases, in the former being 3s. 3*1/2*d. per acre, and in the latter as much as 7s. 4d. sterling. But for what reasons these testimonies are rejected is not stated, except that the net surplus to the cultivator would in one case yield hardly anything, and in the other occasion a dead loss.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE of the EUROPEAN COLLECTOR and NATIVE AMILDAR, on the result of cultivating one acre of cotton land.

1814-15.	Collector's Estimate.			Amildar's Statement.	
	P.	F.	C.	s.	d.
Estimated produce, by Collector	1	16	8	9	8
Expenses. Average of land-tax	0	22	40	.	.
Average of cultivation . . .	0	22	38	.	.
Deduct charges . . .	0	44	78	7	6
Profit (according to collector)		2	2
Loss (according to amildar)	2 0

To say the least of these documents, they are very unsatisfactory; but we may assume that the prices of cotton in the market, and the produce per acre, are tolerably correct, because they correspond with relative prices elsewhere at the same time, and with the amount of produce in some parts, where the cultivation is carried on without capital or manure, and is otherwise neglected from poverty.

The only possible manner to account for land being cultivated with so low a profit, and even sometimes at a loss, is by referring to the fact of a very great portion of the land in the ceded districts being held tax-free, and that the ryots holding of Government direct also occupy, at low rents, the tax-free lands from the proprietors.

• Before quitting the Madras provinces altogether, let us look at the condition of the cotton produce in Malabar. Mr. Brown, a proprietor of a landed estate in that country, writes to me as follows:—

“The Malabar cotton-plant is an annual. It is grown with hill paddy (rice), which is cultivated thus throughout Canara, Malabar, and Travancore. The forest trees on a mountain are lopped, and, together with the low jungle and the brush-wood, burnt. The tract is then all dug with a hoe, for, of course, using the plough is out of

the question. It is next sowed with paddy and hill-cotton. The cotton ripens and is gathered last; but it cannot be *seeded* in the jungles, where there are no people: it must be transported on men's heads, unseeded, to the coast, where there are hands. Unseeded it is of no use, therefore of no value to mortal man. 100 lbs. of cotton, *carefully* deprived of the seed in good hand-churkas, or gins, yield 75 lbs. of seed, and 25 lbs. of clean cotton. Until about four years ago the sea customs tariff of Malabar made no distinction in value between seeded and unseeded cotton, but loaded both, on export coastways, with the duty of five per cent levied on the same weight.

“This sufficiently explains why neither my father nor I sent home *any more* hill-cotton, after our experiment of 1825.”

Mr Brown goes on to explain how this system works in practice.

“At that time a native merchant of Tellicherry exported (as it is called) a quantity of unseeded cotton, from a place north of Cannanore, to Tellicherry, a distance of *about sixteen miles*. He was obliged to bring it, for, owing to the demand for labour, he could not get hands to seed it at the place of export; and cotton, when left long in heaps, ferments and spoils. The merchant on this export had just to pay a duty of twenty per cent. on the value. He got his cotton seeded, re-exported it, and applied for a drawback, but, lo and behold! the cotton was no longer in the *same package* in which it had been imported, and was, therefore, not entitled to drawback. The merchant suffered a very heavy loss, and complained to the collector. The collector, a most well-intentioned man, did not very clearly understand the nature of the loss, and wrote to me. Immediately he heard from me, he set about remedying the mischief and intolerable hardship suffered, by proposing to the Madras Board of Revenue two different Tariff values for seeded and unseeded cotton.

“This value had reference to the average price of the article in the country where it was produced and exported; but the Board rejected the rate for the clean cotton, and fixed it at the same as that at Madras, a place situated at a month's journey distant, and to which cotton must be brought at a long distance, and where the selling-price is necessarily higher than in Malabar, where it is grown.”

Not only is the land in the ceded districts so heavily taxed as to check the culture of cotton, but the machinery for cleaning it is taxed; an additional tax is imposed on it as it proceeds from stage to stage to the sea-coast, where it has to be packed, and is taxed again before it can quit India, to say nothing of the tax it pays on reaching England.

The tract of country from whence we at present derive our largest supply of India cotton is Guzerat, and the article is called Surat, after the capital of the province, and its principal sea-port. There seems good reason for believing, too, that this province is on the whole less heavily taxed than any other of the cotton-growing districts; yet we have the following statement of evidence from the very best authority, Francis Warden, Esq., who for more than twenty years filled the offices of Chief Secretary and Member of Council of Bombay, and is now an East India Director. His testimony is as follows:—

“COTTON.—*Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1832.*

“It requires fourteen beegahs of land (about seven acres) to produce a kandy of 746lbs. of (Guzerat) cotton, on which the Government assessment (land-tax) therefore is rupees 56, or, at 1s. 9d.* the rupee, 4l. 17s., averaging $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ per lb. In the Surat division it averages 1.55d. per lb., in Kaira 1.13d., in Ahmedabad 1.53d., in the Southern Mahratta country 1. 14d. In Kattywar the assessment exceeds 5l. a kandy.”

Dr. Lush says a kandy of cotton in the Southern Mahratta country (Dharwar) may be purchased at 42 rupees, which at 1s. 9d. per rupee, is 3l. 13s. The assessment in Kattywar, at the same price, would exceed the value of the crop about 25 per cent.

The following letter, which lately appeared in the *Bombay Times* from a gentleman at Manchester, dated the 16th of December last, affords a deplorable picture of the difficulties to which the cotton trade in Guzerat is subjected, and additional testimony to the fact is borne by an application made by the Chamber of Commerce in Bombay to the Government there, on the 4th of March, 1837.

Testimony of an Eye-witness, an English Cotton Merchant, addressed to the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Manchester†.

“Manchester, 16th Dec. 1838.

“SIR,—During my stay in Guzerat, in the spring of 1837, I was occupied several months in purchasing, cleaning, packing, and shipping East India cotton. The cotton grown in Guzerat (the best in India) is taxed by the Honourable Company at a rate which often proves 50 per cent. of its market value. The cotton with the seed in it

* The rupee is now uniformly calculated at two shillings currency.

† A friend who resided in the country many years, but who has been in England nine years, thinks this statement exaggerated.

(called *kupass*), as it is taken from the plant, is often very much injured before cleaning. It is in this state that the Honourable East India Company levy their land-tax on it. Immediately after it is gathered, it is brought (by the tax-gatherers) into the Government kullies (yards); and if the growers, or owners, are not immediately prepared to pay the tax upon it, the *kupass* is buried in the ground, as a farmer would his winter potatoes in England, except that there is no straw or matting placed between the earth and the cotton. The top is covered with large lumps of earth. I presume this method has been resorted to on the part of the Hon. East India Company to avoid the slight expense of building sheds, and has been connived at on the part of the dealers and cultivators because the moisture to which it is thus exposed strikes through the cotton, and very much tends to increase its weight, and improve its appearance, for the time being; but when it is packed in a moist state, mildew naturally follows, and before the cotton reaches England the colour is very much deteriorated.

“The *kupass* (unseeded cotton) also becomes mixed with lumps of hard earth, and as it cannot be passed through the seeding-machine without being beaten out, to facilitate the fibres leaving the seed, to which they are very tenacious, these lumps of dirt are broken up into a fine brown powder, which cannot afterwards be extricated from the cotton.”

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Chief Secretary to Government.

“Bombay, 4th March, 1837.

“Sir,—I am requested by the Chamber of Commerce most respectfully to bring to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the situation in which the cotton dealers in the Broach Collectorate are now placed, owing to the annual assessment (land-tax) on the cotton for the revenue not having been yet fixed.

“Until this assessment has been made, *the cotton cannot be shipped for Bombay, nor, unless under certain restrictions, not available to all the dealers, can the cotton be cleaned and prepared for shipment.*”

“Under the most favourable circumstances, the time for effecting all this is, from the nature of the climate, necessarily very short.

“Any delay in fixing the assessment, still further curtails the very short period the climate allows, and is felt as a very great hardship.”

In addition to these statements of the system of getting up the cotton in Guzerat, I find the following letter in the *Bombay Times*, of the 5th of October, 1839.

COTTON CLEANING IN GUZERAT.

To the Editor of the Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce.

“DEAR MR. EDITOR,—Some time ago, I was in the Baroche districts, employed in cleaning and packing cotton for shipment to Bombay. On my arrival in the districts, I made many inquiries respecting cotton, but found that, until I actually bought and packed the cotton myself, I could get no satisfactory information on the subject.

“Perhaps the following account of the method pursued by the natives in the picking, cleaning, and *preparing* Baroche cotton for the Bombay market may interest some of your readers.

“The *kupaus*, which ripens in all February and the beginning of March, is, in some instances, picked and put into bags, but in general it is carelessly plucked off the cotton plants, and put into the picker’s apron, no care being taken to avoid mixing with the *kupaus* the brittle brown outside leaf of the cotton pod. When the apron is full it is emptied on the ground, and when the picking of the day is over, the *kupaus* is tied up in large cloths and carried to the village *khullecs*, or barns, which are circular holes in the ground, about six feet deep and four feet in diameter; the sides of these holes are sometimes cow-dunged, but their edges are always covered with dry crumbling clods, which fall into and dirty the cotton, which remains in these holes sometimes a month or a month and a half, exposed to the dust and dew. Some villagers cover the *kupaus* in the holes with a cloth, but it is by no means a general practice. The cotton ripening about the end of February has to be picked in a great hurry; this is one cause of its leafiness. There is often a scarcity of *churka*-men, who sometimes work day and night by relays.

“In general, the villagers contract to deliver their *kupaus* at a certain rate to the *wukareas*, or keepers of cotton-cleaning establishments, who make them an advance of about Rs. 10 per *bhar* ($2\frac{3}{4}$ a 3 *bhars* of *kupaus* give one *candy* of clean cotton) to enable them to pay the cotton-pickers.

“The *wukareas* do not send much cotton to Bombay on their own account, as they are seldom men of capital; they enter into contracts with the merchants of Baroche, Jumboosur, &c., agreeing to deliver them cleaned cotton, ready packed; they receive an advance from the merchants of about half the contract price, to enable them to make advances to the villagers. In advancing money to the *wukareas*, more risk is run than in making advances to villagers.

“ On the kupaus being delivered to the wukareas, it is spread out in the sun to dry the seeds, and then beaten with a stick on a charpoy, to get rid of the *lumps of earth*, in which operation the staple is injured, and the cotton dirtied; the kupaus is then passed through the churka, *which separates the cotton from the seed very perfectly*. The churka-men are paid according to the weight of seed they deliver, so it is their interest to see that none passes through the rollers of the churka with the cotton. The value of the seed is generally equal to the price paid for separating it from the cotton. The cotton is now cleaned and ready to be screwed; if it is not hand-picked, it is more or less leafy, according to its quality, but it may be said that *there is not a single seed in it*, and *it is quite dry*.

“ When the wukarea delivers the cotton to the merchant, he tries to smuggle into the bales as many seeds as possible, and also damp the cotton to increase its weight.

“ If the merchant has bought the cotton on account of parties in Bombay, he also puts seed into the bales, and takes out an equivalent weight of cotton; he mixes up the fine Baroche cotton with common short-stapled Malwa cotton, a large quantity of which goes to Baroche when prices there are high, nearly all of which is mixed with the Baroche cotton.

“ The cotton being screwed with as much seed and damp as it is thought will pass without remark in Bombay, is (at Baroche), on arriving at the bunder, rolled over about twenty yards of ground, partly within high-water mark—mud or no mud, all the same. On reaching the water’s edge, the bales are hoisted into the pattamars by coolies, where they are stowed in two tiers; if any bad weather come on during the passage to Bombay, some of the forward bales are sure to get damaged by the spray.

“ The boatmen, too, must have their *dustoree*, so they cut open the bales, abstract as much cotton as they can with safety, and make up the weight by putting stones or salt water into the bales. The cotton stolen by the boatmen is not brought to Bombay, but landed somewhere on the coast.

“ I have now traced the Baroche cotton from its picking to its being landed on the Bombay bunder, and I think that far from wondering that its quality has not improved, we should rather be astonished that it reaches Bombay so clean as it does.

“ From all I saw during my stay in Guzerat, I feel confident that little or no improvement in the quality of Baroche cotton will be

effected until Europeans settle, during the cotton season, in the Baroche districts, and erect simple but effective cotton-cleaning establishments, which, at first, except the godown to hold the kupaus and screws, may be mere temporary erections, and would not involve a large outlay. The erection of screws powerful enough to half press the bales would be a great advantage, as well pressed bales would pay less freight, and the boatmen could not so conveniently abstract the cotton from them. The churka used in separating the cotton wool from the seed is a very clumsy machine, it only turns out about a maund of clean cotton per diem; it is worked by two persons, generally a man and his wife, one of whom turns the wheel and the other feeds the rollers. It would be of great importance to have a *cheap* machine, on the principle of the churka, with a series of rollers equal to twenty to thirty churkas, the whole turned by a bullock wheel. A machine like this would cause a great saving of manual labour, which is often very much wanted in the height of the cotton-cleaning season.

“ Since the above was written, I see the Company have sent out four cotton-cleaning machines, stated to be about the same size as the churka, which costs Rs. 2, while these machines would come to Rs. 40 each; the native cotton-cleaners would never be able to employ such costly machines.

“ The cotton-cleaning establishment being all ready, it would then be necessary to contract for Toomeil kupaus with the village pattels. Toomeil kupaus is kupaus of the first quality, the seed being well covered with wool, and the cotton free from leaves and mud. For the first two or three seasons it would be necessary to cause the picking of the cotton to be in some degree superintended.

“ The Government duty, if possible, ought to be paid in advance, and the kupaus, immediately after being picked and weighed, should be packed in carts and sent straight to the cleaning establishment, *without having ever been put into the village khullees*. The kupaus would then arrive free from leaves and mud, quite dry, and might be hand-picked at a small expense (from Rs. 15 a 20 per candy) so as to form the best Toomeil cotton.

“ I have seen several letters in your paper regarding the practice of putting the cotton into the khullees, and keeping it there until the Government duty is paid—no improvement in the quality of the cotton can be expected as long as this system continues. Government ought to do its utmost to introduce some means of protecting the revenue, without exposing the kupaus to the injuries of the weather. Surely

the villagers might be induced to erect proper sheds for the reception of the cotton. *As soon as the condition of the ryots is ameliorated, the quality of cotton, and all other agricultural produce, may be expected to improve gradually but surely; this, I fear, can never, to any great extent, be looked for as long as the ryots are oppressed by the present enormous Government duties, which reduce the whole agricultural population to the condition of mere day labourers, and deliver them to the tender mercies of the village buncenas, whose exactions leave them just enough to keep soul and body together.*

“Government should be urged to do everything in its power to improve the Guzerat cotton: much advantage may be derived from experimental farms *on a large scale*; in the mean time, private enterprise may *immediately*, as far as its own operations extend, improve the quality of Baroche cotton, by employing Europeans well acquainted with the language and habits of the natives to superintend the cleaning and packing of the cotton in the districts, who, if they managed matters with any degree of ability, might, even the first year, send to Bombay a small quantity of the best Toomeil cotton, while the rest of their sendings would be *perfectly free from seed*, and as free, or freer, from leaves than the general run of Baroche cotton.

“I remain, yours,

“A WELL-WISHER TO BOMBAY.”

It is not easy for any but practical financiers and merchants, to conceive how small an impediment affects commerce, and frequently averts it from its usual course. I have not met with a stronger instance of this than an observation of Dr. Lush's, in his pamphlet on the cultivation and preparation of cotton in India, which I saw only a few days since. In it, he observes, in 1837,—“There was, till last year, an injudicious tax on churkas (cotton rollers). The duty was small in its amount, and did not benefit the revenue in such a degree as to blind the Government to its exciseman-like operation. Thanks to modern views, it is now no more. *I believe I should not exaggerate if I stated, that the immediate effect of this abolition was to bring between two and three thousand new hands (implements) into play in cleaning cotton.*” Surely all such fiscal impediments must give way to common sense.

It is often said that the Hindoos are an ignorant bigoted race, and so wedded to their ancient habits as to prevent their adopting changes,

but in this there is little truth. The peasantry are, in reality, less obstinate than the same classes in Europe, as soon as they find the advantage in change; and the several instances in which they have at once come into our views, are proofs of their aptness to learn, and their desire to improve. Of late years they have become great cultivators of indigo, where they never heard of it before. They have, in some places, abandoned their own sugar-cane for that of the Mauritius, which is now thriving in many parts of the country. They have engaged extensively, according to their means, in growing silk. In about three years one hundred villages, near Delhi, began to grow American cotton, where the plant had never before been seen. They adopt our machinery (carts especially), and reject their own the moment they can afford it. Their poverty alone prevents their doing more. On this subject the testimony of Alexander Rogers, Esq., gentleman many years resident in Bengal, and but lately returned, is valuable.

"The prejudice of the natives to the introduction of improvement in agriculture is often referred to. I will, therefore, record my opinion upon the subject. The peasantry of India are, I think, better educated and less prejudiced than the peasantry of England were thirty years ago. No considerable difficulty was found in introducing a new and superior method of cultivating and preparing opium, of which India exports 5,000,000*l.* value per annum, of the finest quality in the world.

"There was no difficulty in improving the growth and manufacture of *sugar*, of which Indian sorts sell (on the average of all last year,) four shillings per cwt. better than that imported from the West Indies.

"There was no difficulty in introducing the cultivation, on an improved system, of *indigo*, of which India exports to the value of 2,000,000*l.* of the finest quality in the world.

"There was no difficulty found in adopting the most improved Italian system in the treatment of the *silk worms*, and reeling raw silk, of which India exports per annum 500,000*l.* I therefore see no important difficulty in introducing superior cotton.

"I believe there is more cotton produced in India than in America but it is required for home consumption. That it has not been grown extensively for exportation is accounted for by the fact, that India has been hermetically sealed to European enterprise up to 1815. That from that time to 1833, the Government manufactured and traded

and private capitalists did not dare compete with so powerful an opponent. Europeans, out of the service, were permitted to reside in India *only* by sufferance, liable to deportation at the will and pleasure of the Government, without cause assigned. No European could hold land in India, nor go there without special leave; to procure which, required much interest and expense.

“ Since 1833, the commercial occupation of the Government having ceased, all their establishments have been thrown *too suddenly* on the hands of private speculators. Capital and credit have been deranged by the failure of six agency houses, to an enormous amount. The distance, and want of information about India, have prevented English capitalists from directing their views to that quarter. Credit is now restored—India is brought nearer to England, by the opening of the overland route, and steam communication.

“ In order to the obtaining a supply of cotton from India, I would suggest the forming of joint-stock companies, having the liability of shareholders limited. Our capital, credit, and demand, have forced into growth the cottons of America. The climate and soil of British India are perfectly congenial to the growth of fine raw cotton.”

With these facts before us, it will naturally be asked to what purpose is it that we are told cotton may be grown in abundance everywhere throughout India, if there are such impediments, as the above, at every step. There is, however, still no cause for despair, the government in India have seen the evil ways of their predecessors, and they are, I believe, willing to alleviate the difficulties with which all questions of commerce are environed in that country. A great step has, I think, been made in the thirty years settlement of the North Western ceded provinces, which are favourably situated in the vicinity of two navigable rivers, where the New Orleans and Upland Georgian cottons succeed so well, and where merchants and their agents might resort at once with a fair prospect of success. The growth of indigo is owing mainly, if not entirely, to the permanent settlement of the land tax in Bengal. There are three modes of obtaining the crop, which might be adopted. The first is, by renting the land from the proprietors, and entering into all the details of husbandry; the second is, by inducing the farmers to cultivate cotton, and purchasing it of them at the market price; and the third is, by advancing capital to grow the cotton, and agreeing to receive it at a fixed price, provided it is delivered sufficiently clean. There are many persons in England who have been indigo planters in India, and from

them the best information may be obtained on the relative advantages of the three systems, but as far as my inquiries enable me to judge, the occupation of land by the European, appears to involve the greatest expense, and, considering the difficulties of farming to advantage, in a country where the agricultural implements and manures are different, and the seasons vary so much from those of Europe, it is fair to conclude that this would be the least profitable of the three plans. Between the other two a medium course might be adopted, namely, money might be advanced, if required by the farmer, and even seed might be furnished, and a certain price might be promised, provided the article was cleaned so as to answer a given standard, for instance, from 20 to 30 per cent. on the bazar price of the indigenous cotton might be ensured, but all these matters belong so much to detail, that I will not attempt to enter into them. With respect to the Madras and Bombay presidencies, we may again refer to their system of raising revenue, as an answer to those persons who go about denying that the weight of the land-tax is onerous, because it is only a few shillings an acre. It matters not what is the nominal amount of the tax, whether it be shillings, or even pence, provided it bears a very large proportion to the value of the whole produce. It has been seen, p. 69, that in Bellary a land tax of 3s. 1½d. per acre, assuming the produce of cotton to be what the collector represented it to be, left only a balance of seven pence an acre in a favourable season, and in the Kurpah district, where labour was dearer, a tax of 3s. 9d. per acre, according to the native reporter, caused a loss of 2s. per acre. In Guzerat, according to Mr. Warden, converting his rupees into pounds, shillings, and pence, his begas into acres, (at 2 per acre,) and his rupees into 2 shillings, we arrive at the following conclusion: that 746 lbs. of clean cotton may be raised on seven acres of land, giving 106 lbs. per acre, that the land-tax on the same is 56 rupees, or 5l. 12s., being 16s. per acre. The cotton, estimated at 2½d. per lb., which is 40 per cent. more than its value at Dharwar, will sell for 1l. 1s., from which, if we deduct 16s., we have scarcely more than 25 per cent. of the sale produce to pay the expenses of cultivation, and to the return of interest on capital, while the Government receives 75 per cent. of the whole produce, as the tax. The merchants of England, it is clear, cannot look to either of the above presidencies in which to grow cotton profitably, while such imposts prevail. Better would it be for them to go and reside under the government of the Nizam, in the midst of the great cotton field of

India, and trade in the indigenous article, than attempt the growth of American cottons under such a government as ours. We have seen, p. 68, that those provinces can afford to import, and undersell the home-grown cotton at Bellary; and an enterprising native merchant of Bombay, has been residing for the last five or six years at Hyderabad, purchasing and transporting on oxen's backs to the sea coast, the cotton grown in Berar, through our more contiguous districts, where it cannot be produced at a profit. What a reflection is this on an European administration denominated enlightened!!!

We now come to the last and serious obstacle to trade, which consists in the absence of fit means of conveyance.

There are no navigable rivers in India but the Ganges and its tributary streams at certain seasons of the year, few roads on which wheel-carriages can travel at all, and hardly any on which they can proceed during the three or four rainy months.

In the year 1833, the late Mr. Bell, an able statistical reporter, was called on to investigate the condition of the inland communication of Bengal, and he writes as follows:—

“The internal trade of Bengal, by land, is chiefly dependent on bullock carriage, which is exceedingly tedious and inconvenient. It is true that Bengal is intersected by many navigable streams that fall into the Ganges, and afford great facility to water carriage, but there are at present so many drawbacks to river navigation, that the importance of opening the resources of the country by good roads, must force itself upon the attention of every one who has taken the trouble to give the subject consideration*.

“During a great part of the year, many nullahs and lakes are closed against the smallest boats; whilst the scanty means of the inhabitants rendering them dependent on immediate returns for their produce, force it into other hands; and so passing it into the possession of a third and fourth, before reaching the grand mart, the price is enhanced proportionately, to the great detriment of our external commerce: whereas, if assisted by good roads, and communication by water, *free* from all grinding restrictions, a choice of markets and returns would be open to the peasant, which is now only available to those who profit by his labour.

* Since this was written, a cart road from Calcutta to the new Presidency of Agra, about seven hundred miles, has been properly constructed.

“ Again, the rapidity of the current, when the annual inundation takes place, renders the navigation of large boats extremely dangerous, owing to the many shoals that beset the course of the Ganges, whilst it militates equally against the management of small skiffs that are adapted to the navigation of shallow rivers, which water the Western districts.

“ The internal commerce of the country is, notwithstanding so many drawbacks, very economically conducted, as far as mere labour is concerned. A glance at the simple contrivance of a boat from stem to stern, is evidence of the trifling cost of material. The wages of labour are generally paid in grain, when it is cheapest, which amounts to nothing more than a bare pittance.”

It has been estimated that merchandise may be conveyed up the river, at about eight miles per day, at the rate of three half-pence per ton each mile, and down the river, at half that price.

Great merit is due to the late Lord William Bentinck, for having established a few steamboats on the river, and to the Home authorities for having maintained them. It is ascertained these boats afford a very profitable return; but their number, not exceeding six or eight, so far from being adequate to the conveyance of the traffic up and down the Ganges, are scarcely sufficient for the transport of the public stores, and troops proceeding to the interior.

A reference to the map of India shows that the cotton-growing districts, on the Nerbudda, and those of Nagpoor and Amrowty, in Berar, are remote from Mirzapore, the entrepôt, on the Ganges, lying between Benares and Allahabad; and the mode of conveyance may be thus described:—

The cotton is brought on oxen, carrying 160 lbs. each, at the extreme rate, in fair weather, of seven miles a-day for a continuance, and at a price of about 5s. for each hundred miles. If we take the average distance to Mirzapore at 500 miles, each pound of cotton costs in transit alone above $2\frac{1}{2}d$. It has thence to be borne by water-carriage nearly 800 miles further on to Calcutta, from which port the exportation of such cotton to England at a profit must be looked for in vain. Within the last seven or eight years a good road, between Jubalpore and Mirzapore, has been formed; and it is satisfactory to know that although 400 carts only passed over it in the year after it was built, no fewer than 6,000 went along it in 1838; and this number will daily increase. The misfortune of this road, however, as regards the cotton trade, is that it only commences half-way between the cotton

districts and the entrepôt. The article, therefore, has necessarily to travel 250 miles on oxen's backs, and the contract for conveyance extends to the whole distance; so that, in fact, for all beneficial purposes to the cotton trade in that quarter, this excellent road is almost useless. In order to render it available, it should be completed to Nagpoor and Amrowty. Were this effected, and the transport by carts substituted, as we may be sure it would be, it would diminish the expense of conveyance alone from $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ to less than a farthing per pound. The calculation is simple. An ox carries 160 lbs., at the rate of seven miles a-day, *in fair weather only*, for a continuous journey of one or two months. In the absence of a defined and good road, a drove of several hundred head of cattle requires to be constantly watched, and prevented from straying on the march: and this leads to the necessity of travelling by day in the hot weather, when the thermometer is seldom less than 100° , and frequently 130° Fahrenheit. These droves are never so few as 100, and often exceed 1,000. Every morning, after daylight, each ox has to be laden; and before this operation is over the sun is already high above the horizon. The cattle have then to proceed at the slow rate of two miles an hour; and seldom perform a journey of more than eight or nine miles per day. The horde generally halts one day in seven. (Troops, in marching in India, are required to halt once on every third day.) If the caravan is overtaken by rain, the cotton, becoming saturated with moisture, is so heavy as to prevent its transport on the cattle, and the roads, if lying through the cotton ground, are so deep that men even sink above their ankles at every step, and cattle to their knees. It may easily be supposed that, under such a calamity, the merchant and the carrier are both ruined. How different is the case with a cart on a good road. Here the goods, once laden, may be secured from rain, and are never touched during the whole journey. The attachment of the cattle to the yoke does not literally occupy a minute. Thus harnessed, the cart can travel by night, during moonlight; and morning and evening, in dark nights, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty miles a day; and the cart of the Deccan, awkward and ill-constructed as it is, with two draught oxen, conveys with facility the loads of ten carriage-cattle,—that is to say, 1,600 lbs.; and proceeds at the rate of two and a half, or even three miles an hour. At present the Amrowty, and other Berar cotton, finds its way down to Bombay on the backs of oxen, and costs from $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $2d.$ per lb. in fair weather, but, if it comes on to rain, which

is not unfrequently the case, it is detained; the cargo becomes damaged, and is unfit for transmission. If a good road were constructed from Berar to the coast, so as to enable carts to travel at all seasons of the year, the material could be conveyed the whole distance to Bombay at less than half a farthing per pound. The same arguments apply equally to the cotton districts of the Southern Mahratta country of Madras, and the neighbouring territory of the Nizam, along the north bank of the Krishna river,—a tract of country from whence cotton is conveyed, under all the present disadvantages, both to the Coromandel and to the Western coast.

Independently of the expense and risk attending the present mode of transporting cotton from the interior there is a third point of vital importance. The cotton crops in the Deccan and Guzerat ripen in February, and the harvest continues till the end of April. The best kind of cotton, however, is picked and cleaned by the end of March, and must be despatched, whether from Guzerat or the interior of the Deccan, by the first week in April. The rains usually commence early in June, and, unless the cotton is at Bombay by that time, it is too late to be despatched either to China or to England. Good roads along the coast, and through the interior, would remove these serious inconveniences; for, while the expense of transporting the goods would be reduced, say from $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $2d.$ to one-eighth of a penny per pound, the time gained is also to be considered, since, as the article could reach the coast in less than half the number of days in carts, which it could be conveyed on laden cattle, the period of picking might be continued, with advantage, at least a month later in the season than at present; I speak especially of the indigenous cotton grown in the interior, whether in Berar or farther south in the Dharwar districts. Before the cotton trade from these parts can be rendered profitable, roads of a substantial and permanent nature must be formed; and as numerous rivers and water-courses, which swell in the rains, and are not fordable, intervene, bridges must be built over them, the whole involving a considerable outlay of capital. The late Lord William Bentinck suggested that so small a sum as $30,000l.$ should be set aside annually, out of the twenty millions of India revenue, for these purposes; but this recommendation, like many others of the Ex-Governors-General, has not been acceded to by the Home authorities and, though it is whispered that some attention has been paid to the subject, it will, I fear, be long before the cotton of the interior, can be brought to the coast so cheap as to become an article of profitable

trade. In the present state of the stagnation of all internal traffic, for want of roads, no more legitimate measure for the improvement of the country, and the certain increase of the revenue, can be suggested, than the opening a loan, if such be necessary, for the express purpose of internal communication, the interest of which the most trifling tolls would serve to pay.

The construction of good roads seems an imperative duty on the sovereign landlord, that claims and takes from the tenantry all which is not deemed absolutely requisite to enable the latter to till their lands on the following year. The precise amount, necessary for this purpose, however, it is confessedly difficult to ascertain, and the portion allowed must have been insufficient; for out of sixteen millions sterling of land revenue, collected in 1826, we find but little more than eleven millions realized in 1836, and it has since further declined. If some such measure as is in the course of adoption in the Agra provinces (vide p. 57) be not speedily extended to other parts where the land-tax is still fluctuating, that fundamental source of Indian revenue will probably fall off still more.

But there are other hindrances to the commercial intercourse between India and England besides those to which I have adverted. In the first place, there are the transit duties throughout the Madras provinces, levied on all articles, from the spot of their production to the port from whence they embark. In the second place, are the several imposts, or taxes on all descriptions of machinery, from the wheel and the bow to clean the cotton, down to the mill which expresses oil, or the juice of the sugar-cane. Arrived at the coast, the article is loaded with a heavy export duty, whether it proceeds to a neighbouring port of British India or to England. Last, not least, of the evils with which the commerce of India is beset, is the cruel and unjust laws which emanate, not from the local legislature there, but from the legislature of Great Britain. While the trade was confined to the East India Company, as it was up to the year 1813, India was viewed and treated, not as a dependency, but as a *foreign country*, not as a foreign independent state even, but as a conquered country, that had forfeited all title to be dealt with either as a colony, or as an ally. In this cruel spirit of legislation, while the colonies were permitted to levy $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties on the productions of England imported into them, India was prohibited from levying more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on British manufactured goods, and the Government there imposed enormous duties

on the manufactured or raw produce of India, conveyed from one of her own ports to another. The raw produce of Great Britain, such as metals, &c., were bound to be received in India free from duties, while England levied, and still levies, the same duties on all India productions as upon those of foreign states; so that she is nearly excluded from external commerce.

It is now twenty-seven years since the commercial monopoly to India ceased, and there can be no ostensible cause for continuing these absurd laws, nor why the tariffs applicable to the other colonies of the crown, should not be extended to India, except that there are interests concerned here which militate against the change, and which desire to preclude her cheap productions from coming in competition with the more costly articles of other parts.

The West India interest is opposed to the competition of East Indian sugar, rum, coffee, cocoa, rice, and all other tropical produce. The Russian merchant's interest is opposed to the cheap introduction of linseed, hemp, flax, and tallow. Other commercial bodies would preclude the sesamun, the safflower, and the barilla of India. Others are opposed to the cheap importation of caoutchouc, East Indian wool, and the various drugs for dyeing and for medicine, and America is apprehensive "by drawing the string too tight in regard to the prices of her cotton, she may compel England to look to India for her future supply." And what are the results of this defective system of financial legislation?

With respect to the revenue, we find, where the land is held without such fearful imposts—

That the West India population (of which 40,000 are whites and 800,000 are negroes) contributes in taxes (per head)	£1 12 0 per an.
That the Cape and Mauritius population, composed in a great proportion also of negroes, now emancipated, pays, in taxes (per head)	1 10 0
That the population of Sydney, composed entirely of Europeans, pays (per head)	4 0 0
That the population of Van Dieman's Land, also composed of Europeans, pays (per head)	2 12 0
That none of these nations complain of excess of taxation; the inhabitants are comparatively wealthy, carrying on an active trade with Europe, and are all in comfortable circumstances.	

The population of India, confessedly ground down by taxation, and reduced to the lowest state of poverty, contributes the small sum of (per hd.) £— 3 8 per an.

Looking at our commerce with the above colonies, we find—

That the West Indies take from us, in exchange for her sugars, her rum, her coffee, &c., manufactures to the extent of (per head) £1 8 0 per an.
 Sydney takes, in exchange for her wool and oil
 (per head) 12 0 0
 Van Dieman's Land, ditto 20 0 0
 And none of our colonies consume less of our home manufactures than (per head) 1 10 0

While India, shut out from commercial intercourse, does not consume more than 7d. a head, though there are, independent of the native population, upwards of 20,000 Englishmen distributed throughout the country, whether as soldiers, civilians, or merchants, who probably purchase more than half of the whole amount imported.

Can we be surprised, however, at this state of things, when we look steadily at the picture which has been exhibited of our financial legislation in that country? And can it be doubted that if India enjoyed the privileges granted to our other colonies, that she would, at no very distant period, yield *ten times the revenue* she now does to the state, and consume ten times the amount of our manufactures which she now takes from us? It is difficult to calculate on the rapid and enormous growth of the commerce of one hundred and fifty millions of an industrious and ingenious people, set to work by a demand for the produce of their agricultural labour by a nation ready to supply all their wants by returning to them their own raw materials worked up in manufactures. Imagine such a trade carried on in BRITISH VESSELS instead of in American, as is now the case with the cotton trade, and contemplate our altered maritime position with that country. Is this a point to be overlooked? It may well be asked why it is India has been so neglected, and has hitherto been deprived of the ordinary advantages permitted to our colonies, and even to foreign states?

SHE IS WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!!!

But the time is come when the parliament of Great Britain will, it is hoped, be called on to interfere in behalf of the hundred millions

of our fellow subjects in the East—when a more enlightened policy will be introduced into the financial arrangements of that great empire, and when England herself will be compelled to recognise India, not as a vanquished foe, but as her most valuable friend. When justice shall be done to India, if it be only for the sake of justice to the commercial community of Great Britain—then, and not till then, will our empire in the East be entitled to be deemed, as she has often been called, the brightest jewel in our sovereign's crown, and she will in reality be one of the firmest bulwarks of our national prosperity and glory.



THE END.

